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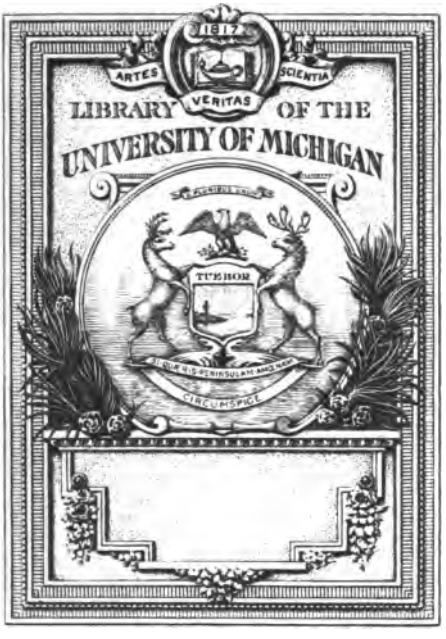

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SIR CHARLES NAPIER, C.B. M.P. &c.

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NARRATIVE

OF THE LATE

EXPEDITION TO SYRIA,

UNDER THE COMMAND OF

ADMIRAL THE HON. SIR ROBERT STOPFORD,

G.C.B. G.C.M.G.

COMPRISING AN ACCOUNT OF

THE CAPTURE OF GEBAIL, TRIPOLI, AND TYRE;
STORMING OF SIDON; BATTLE OF CALAT-MEIDAN;
BOMBARDMENT AND CAPTURE OF
ST. JEAN D'ACRE,
&c. &c.

By W. P. HUNTER, Esq.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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EXPEDITION TO SYRIA.

CHAPTER I.

A RECONNAISSANCE UPON THE ENEMY AT ZAHLÉ.

Upon the 6th November I disembarked at Beyrout.

Before entering on the detail of fresh subjects which will now attract me, I may state that Admiral Walker, on proceeding to Constantinople, received from the Ottoman government every mark of its gratitude and respect. Orientals too commonly are influenced by mere momentary and selfish motives in conferring favours; with them, services

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past and performed are generally easily forgotten. Their conduct in the instance of Admiral Walker reflects praise upon their better feelings. He was received by the Sultan with the greatest consideration, and, as a reward for his faithful and energetic services, had at once conferred upon him the rank of Pacha; the honour being heightened by a compliment in their best taste,—that of the felicity of his adopted name, Jahver (or God-send) Pacha.

Captain Laué had proposed to me, before landing, to accompany him in a *reconnaissance* of Ibrahim Pacha's forces at Zahlé. Hitherto no attempt had been made to reconnoitre the enemy in the interior, the only information which could be obtained respecting them being through the newly-appointed Emir Beschir; nor was that in any instance of a conclusive or satisfactory character. The signal blow which had just been struck, and which so successfully con-

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cluded the naval conquest of the coast, made it evident that the next step must be towards the interior; and Captain Laué felt anxious to commence the service of the campaign.

I must introduce more fully my present companion. Captain Laué was one of several Prussian officers who, nominated by their government, had, a few years previously, entered the Turkish service. Their office was that of military instructors. It was at a time when most of the Continental powers first confessedly united in schemes for the regeneration of the Ottoman Empire, originating in the exertions and "reforms" of the Sultan Mahmoud. Prussian, Austrian, and French officers were alike appointed; but after the lapse of a year or so, the first of those only remained; the latter, becoming dissatisfied, returned to Europe. They had all, indeed, many disagreeable things to contend with in the position in which they were placed. Their story is

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illustrative of some strange features in the condition of Turkey.

The Sultan had craved from his allies *superior officers, qualified to organise his army on a European footing*,—a term, we may remark, as specious as the other superficial innovations of that monarch. The officers who were sent to him were old soldiers,—men without other recommendations than those which they had acquired by long services and practical ability. The different governments, in acceding to the wishes of the Sultan, considered it merely necessary that the individuals nominated should be efficient men; beyond this no assistance was given; their suitable establishment and *method of usefulness* was left to the decision of the Turks themselves. Hence the failure of the attempt. The Turk, although he might confess the novel military acquirements of his Frank instructor, was not the less inclined to consider him

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in a personally depreciatory light, — a view naturally inspired by bigotry and ignorance. They regarded them as *Giaour* (implying a moral as well as a religious debasement). The Sultan gave them good salaries and honourable appointments; but, fearful to strike at the root of prejudices and real corruptions, conferred upon them no degree of rank, alleging their religious incapability.

The late Sultan, in the innovations which he introduced upon external forms in Turkey, was ignorant of the principle which teaches us that, in order to advance a nation towards further enlightenment, it is necessary such progress be based upon some natural and extended system of *characteristic* improvement. He destroyed the Janissaries, but he neglected to endow in their stead the only safeguard that could better support the dignity of his throne, — the civil liberty of the subject. He prohibited the turban to the *employés* of his government, yet otherwise

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left Turkey trammelled under every degenerate feature peculiar to the East of his day.

But to return to the story of the foreign "instructors," which will lead me to what I have to say about my new acquaintance. The Prussian officers manfully struggled against the prejudices and the numerous selfish intrigues of the Turkish officials.*

At the battle of Nezib the four Prussian officers remaining in the Turkish service were present with the army. The Porte had then given them a new title,—that of *advisers*,—and their emoluments amounted to the pay of the lowest class general officers in Europe. They strongly represented to Hafiz Pacha the great error he was commit-

* Those only who know Turkey can adequately comprehend the extent and applicability of the term *intrigue;* nor will it by them be deemed too much to say that the councils and administrations of its government are mainly carried on by this treacherous machinery.

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ting in evacuating his fortified camp upon the mere feint of General Suleiman, who had for a moment cut off their retreat upon Aleppo,—urging that delay must benefit their own party, and weaken the enemy; and, on the eve before the battle, again protested against the Pacha's eagerness to offer combat when in such an unfavourable position. As is known, the self-willed and imperious Hafiz rejected their advice; and at the close of the disastrous engagement which ensued, the Prussian officers having rendezvoused from their different stations on the field, saved themselves in flight together; but only when the *déroute* had become so complete, that not a Turkish colour remained untaken. Three of those officers immediately quitted the Turkish service under, at length, the same disgust that their comrades had done before them. Captain Laué only remained. He had from the first applied himself to the acquirement

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of the Turkish language, and by his steady assiduity gained considerable proficiency. One attribute seems pre-eminently to have marked his conduct (judging from general authority)—an uncompromising opinion of the low condition of the Turks; and which he on most occasions openly declared to their faces. I believe no man before so freely asserted to the Mussulman his faults; he consequently had many enemies: but at the same time the Turks professed to have derived more benefit from *him* than from any other Frank. The best proof of this opinion was his appointment, after the affair of Nezib, to a charge at the Dardanelles of several extensive improvements. He remained there two years; and, on a subsequent inspection by the Vizier (Chosreff), the highest compliments were publicly expressed by the minister.*

* My information on this head is from Sir Baldwin Walker, who accompanied the Vizier on that occasion.

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Since the arrival of Captain Laué in Syria, I can treat of his conduct from more personal observation. He landed at Jouni with the first body of Turkish troops, and his indefatigability at that period was remarked by most of the British officers. Having early supplied himself with several excellent horses (a requisite which, from its expense, was at the time very generally neglected), he was ever in the outskirts or piquets of the camp, or hovering round the opposite intrenchments of the enemy. His gallant conduct at Cornichovahn and Sidon I have already mentioned in the account of these engagements. He came into Syria without any actual rank or station assigned to him, in the same light, and with the same pay, as General Jochmus; but there was this difference between the two officers,—the former was remarkable only for his *practical* talents, had served his country long and faithfully, and gained his position amongst the Turks unaided

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by interests; the other through life had studied to employ men and means at least as much as his sword, had acquired the support of an all-powerful ambassador, and, in short, knew how to achieve honours and place, by the additional aid of his accomplishments. My future narrative will unfold the fact, that he who is left behind in such a race is not always the least estimable.

And now to commence my first excursion with this officer. The Captain had his horses waiting him. For myself, I proceeded to the market, and soon found a nag, bridle in mouth, and completely caparisoned. Before the dawn we were threading our way across the long drift-sands which skirt Beyrout on the north-east side, one of the Captain's servants (Antonio, for he must be made known) acting as guide, and, if need be, as interpreter. We directed our horses towards the abrupt chain of mountains rising at a league in the plain. Our

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object was to reach Hamanah, the residence of the Emir Beschir, or Prince of Lebanon, and which we found to be a journey of five hours over a very broken and tedious ascent.

Hamanah is situated below the beetling crest of the mountain Knissy. A long and precipitous valley descends from it directly towards the sea, but the approach on horseback is necessarily in a circuitous direction. On entering the village, which is very considerable, we saw every feature that might be supposed to mark the head-quarters of a force in arms with an enemy in their vicinity. A sturdy rabble, every man with his gun slung at his shoulder, early demanded the object of our visit; and on being informed that it was to see their Emir, on the service of the Sultan, they all preceded us with no small degree of clamour and familiarity. The place seemed teeming with women and children, seeking

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protection, and with men and horses "ready for the fray." At last we were led into a large court-yard, surrounded by buildings of irregular construction. It was placed at the extreme edge of the village, overlooking the long descending valley I have noticed, and the view it afforded of the mountains and sea was superb. We were told it was the residence of the Emir, and we alighted. No very princely reception awaited us; even the external gauds of Eastern show were wanting. We were ushered through dirty passages into a large Syrian room of the commonest description, at the door of which the Emir Abdallah (brother of the reigning prince) met us, and gave us the "welcome." The query of our business soon followed. Captain Laué stated himself to be a Tedesco (German) in the suite of Selim Pacha (his nominal appointment), and that he required information respecting the enemy. The Emir Abdallah hereupon most

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graciously hugged the said individual, and, leading him to one of the dirty carpets in the corner, squatted himself at his side, and —ordered pipes.

In the East nothing is done in a hurry, and this story, therefore, must be left to develope itself in its proper course, whilst, at present, I will remark, as I did at the time, upon the peculiar fine flavour of the Emir's *tettoun*, or tobacco. It is a subject of great note in Syria, and may merit here a few observations. One is struck at first by a quality it possesses of swelling after it is lit, so much so, that, in a short time, it protrudes from the bowl to a size nearly three times that of the original tobacco. It is not necessary to be a smoker to experience its agreeable fragrancy. Its test is, that a bit being lit should burn like touchwood, and putting then the smoke near the eye, not in any way to occasion

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pain to that organ. Its mere tobacco qualities are, I should think, the first in the world. It is raised by certain growers near Gebail, expressly for the Emir, and he is very strict in retaining its monopoly.

Having thus, with due decorum, smoked our *rallyoon*, it is time for the further negotiations of business to proceed. Capt. Laué, after hearing all the Emir had to say respecting the enemy, told him he still considered it indispensable a *reconnaissance* should be made, and requested the Emir to grant him fifty of his horsemen to proceed with him on the morrow upon that expedition. The former, although he could not but admit the Captain's reasons, and the necessity for their own safety that the condition of the enemy should be as correctly known as possible, still had many contrary and undecided notions upon the matter. At length, however, he yielded, but said

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he must consult that night with the Shiekhs and other men of authority as to the best means of carrying his intentions into effect.

When the sun had set we ate our rice and kid from the same platter with his Highness (save the mark!—but our august companion employed his fingers in place of knife, fork, or spoon!), and he produced afterwards some capital Lebanon wine. The stage of proceedings then shortly arrived to which I am hastening—the council. An intense cold had succeeded with the evening, and which was the more apparent to us who came from the genial climate of the plain. The Emir was wrapped in fur, and installed, with his *chibouk*, upon a comfortable-looking, but dirty, cushion. The Captain was beside him, with a sheep-skin saddlecloth over his shoulders; and next, the reader's humble servant, orthodoxly ensconced in the folds of a good Highland plaid. I may also state, to render the

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picture more complete, that Antonio had placed himself in a respectfully kneeling posture, immediately in front of the above distinguished party.

A very old man shortly entered, and the Emir arose (we, of course, so far following his example); then advancing to the door, he met the new-comer, humbly kissing the hem of his garment. The white-bearded venerable smiled most affably upon each of us respectively, and, taking his seat, we all "towed a line," as the trio had done previously. Antonio declared that the old man was a Druse friend of the Emir Beschir's, and, he added, the richest man, after the Emir, in the mountains.

"*Richissimo, richissimo!*" he said, under his breath, and wistfully staring at the aged Druse.*

* Antonio was a Maronite, who once accompanied the famous Clot Bey into Italy, and hence acquired a certain sort of language, much resembling Italian.

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Directly now the room began to fill; and as each turbaned mountaineer entered, his girdle bristling with arms, he left his shoes, or large red boots, at the door, and, striding into the centre of the apartment, saluted the chiefs with the "masahlamy," carrying his right hand from his lips to his forehead. They then formed in a large circle in front of the mountain chiefs and ourselves, and which became more and more extended, until the room was quite full. The consultation bearing upon the Captain's proposal was soon opened; and at first Antonio kept us informed upon the current of their observations, but soon the noise and excitement became so great that he himself got too much interested to pay us any attention. It appeared that the dispute was principally as to the number of men to be employed, and which the majority considered ought not to be less than 300. They seemed all to agree in a very

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exaggerated notion of the power of the enemy. In vain, when the proposal was explained to Capt. Laué, did he attempt to make them understand that success in such an instance depended upon having a small, effective, and resolute body, who would dash forward for some time unobserved, and be merely sufficient to protect themselves against straggling hostile bodies —that, with fifty men asked for, he proposed only to employ half that number in approaching the near vicinity of the camp, and who, by a rapid circuit from the mountains into the plain, at the chance of a few stray shots, might come unawares upon the low heights near the cantonments, while the rest would remain a little in the rear, and serve, if necessary, to cover a retreat. He told them that either very large or very small bodies must be employed, and for the former that they had not sufficient. But no, they could understand no such

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tactics; and, ultimately, the matter was compromised by the Captain agreeing to move forward at daylight with a hundred horsemen, under the personal command of the Emir Abdallah. The company then separated, and preparations were set on foot for passing the night. There was a raised sort of divan, the size of an ordinary bed, in one corner, and upon this the Emir laid himself to repose. He was kind enough to offer either of us a share of his accommodations—an honour which was as graciously as possible declined. With some additional covers, we were both soon asleep where we had sat.

The earliest dawn saw us stirring, when, with an admirably mounted body of horsemen, we were moving out of the village, higher up the range. The mountaineers, who were certainly as splendid a set of fellows as ever I saw collected together, began, as day became distinct, to divert

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themselves with feats of horsemanship, and feints of attack. Three or four would put their horses full speed over the rocky and broken ground, shewing the address and sure-footedness of their animals; others would pursue, levelling their rifles; or the pursued, full career, would throw their horses on their haunches, pretending to receive the charge with the spear. These exercises, which shewed the hilarity of many of our party, and the high breed and training of their horses, did little credit to the judgment or foresight of those engaged in thus unnecessarily fatiguing the cattle.

In a short hour we gained the summit of this portion of the Lebanon range, and which commanded an extensive view of the opposite Anti-Libanus, and of the intervening broad valley of the Boccah. We were told that the Commodore, a fortnight previously, had proceeded to this point in his *reconnaissance*

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of the country. From thence we began to descend, the Emir and his horsemen becoming at once much more wary and circumspect. Scouts were thrown out to the distance of a quarter of a mile on either side, and advanced guards established of five and ten men. The first village (Boookrish) which we came to was not more than 1000 yards from the Boccah, and presented a sad picture of desolation and misery. It had been burnt down a few days before by Ibrahim Pacha, and the smoke was still reeking from behind its bare walls. Several of the wretched inhabitants, standing upon the highest ruins, warned us from a nearer approach—the *plague* had now broken out, and added to their sufferings.

And here let me say a word about Ibrahim Pacha, and the system of burning villages, for which he is so celebrated. Monsieur ——, a French gentleman of ability, who was present in the camp of

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Ibrahim during the whole of his residence and manœuvres in the Boccah and Lebanon, and whose acquaintance I subsequently had the pleasure of making, once remarked to me:—"When Ibrahim used to return from any of his numerous excursions, either to the vicinity of the allied forces at Jouni, or from opposite portions of the Kisruan district, we would say, 'Well, and what has your Highness done against the enemy? What success?' '*Good!*' the Pacha would reply: '*I have burnt and destroyed such and such villages,*' counting them at the same time upon his fingers. This suicidal intelligence," said the French gentleman, "was the only sort of news the Pacha ever brought us!" And that system, truly, was the sole aggressive means employed by this imbecile general throughout the latter part of his defensive operations. Those measures of retaliation which, in the former condition of Syria, were operative in affect-

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ing the interests of the mountain communities, who could not otherwise be punished by force of arms, were still blindly and madly followed; although now, from the change of relative positions, every village which he fired, and every mountaineer whom he offended, contributed to add strength and stability to the allied cause against him.

We commenced to descend into the plain, but here our friend the Emir began to shew manifest signs of indecision. The village of Zahlé, in which the enemy had entrenched themselves, was situate at the foot of the range we were upon, distant about four miles; a hill near Zahlé projected so as to hide it at present from our view. It was, therefore, the Captain's wish to trot briskly forward, and to regain the mountains only when opposition was shewn. We had proceeded, however, but a short dis-

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tance, when the Emir declared he saw a distant body of horsemen, and instantly cried a halt. The Captain examined the object with his glass, and assured the Emir that although there were horses, they were quietly grazing, and tethered without accoutrements. He then tried our companions on their weakest point, their cupidity, and proposed that galloping on we should secure and carry off those horses, when a small party might subsequently accompany him in a circuit towards Zahlé. This scheme the mountaineers at once heartily declared in favour of, and we started "full split across country" in the most famous style. Alas! Abdallah shortly again evinced his former symptoms, and the Captain, not to lose time and the chance of success in his main object, consented to retire, and again to ascend the range, from whence, moving towards Zahlé, we should get suddenly as near that village

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as possible. We then kept upon the low hills, and advanced with great caution, having scouts moving parallel, higher up, who commanded a more extensive view of the country. At length the glen in which Zahlé is situated began to open upon us; a body advanced to the crest of a hill considerably above the village, and the Emir, ourselves, and half-a-dozen of his party, went on foot to a somewhat nearer and more favourable position. By the aid of our glasses, Zahlé and the adjacent country were minutely distinct.

The village was apparently composed of about 500 houses, including some of considerable size. Situate on the brow of a hill, from whence there was an unimpeded descent, it offered many evident disadvantages for defence. No intrenchments of any description could be observed. There were a few tents in the vicinity, near where a body of cavalry was bivouacked. It was

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remarked that the troops must be much crowded, if, as it was said, there were 12,000 in the village. Piquets were observed towards the plain, and the descent from above was partially commanded by a few field-pieces. Although Ibrahim was reported to have a large park of artillery in Zahlé, we could discover no further traces than those few cannon commanding the heights. Another body of troops were quartered at Lower Zahlé (on the other side of a ravine, and at the commencement of the plain). It appeared our movements were not observed by the enemy, and which says but little for their proper distribution or organisation.

We rejoined our horses, and turned again towards Hamanah, skirting the opposite side of Gibel Knissy to that by which we approached. The clouds, before lowering, became now dark and threatening, and we were soon overtaken by heavy rain and tempestuous weather, whilst loud peals of

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thunder reverberated through the surrounding mountains. Spurs were put to our horses, and in three hours we entered once more the Emir's abode.

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CHAPTER II.

EXCURSIONS IN LEBANON — A VISIT TO THE EMIR CASSIM.

THE last chapter concluded rather abruptly with the story of the *reconnaissance* on the enemy at Zahlé. I must add a few words of explanation as to the unfavourable light in which that account may seem to place the mountaineers, in respect to moral courage. There are two points which, when recited, go far to remove such impressions. The one, that the Emir Abdallah feared the responsibility of exposing his men to conflict in the absence of the Emir Beschir; and the other, that, in common with the bravest of their class, such men feel a want of nerve

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when away from their own hills. They had besides experienced many severe lessons of the discipline and superiority of organised cavalry in the plain—and Ibrahim's cavalry was the most effective portion of his army. The former reckless severities, also, practised by Ibrahim, when he maintained a large standing army in the country without foreign foe, had still left ill-defined traits of fear in their minds. And now, although Ibrahim had in reality fallen, his mere name was associated with the same exaggerated notions of power and evil design. But these mountaineers, when the rest of Syria was resistless under the iron rule of the Egyptian Pacha, had waged war against him; and though many thousand troops were at different times collected in the Boccah, in order only to make harassing incursions into their mountains—though their villages were frequently pillaged and burnt—their intercourse with the markets of the country

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interrupted — their chiefs bought over to side with their oppressor — under every disadvantage they still had defied, and defied successfully, the power of Ibrahim. On these grounds, therefore, I believe that there was not a man with us that day but who, in actual combat, would have supported the high character for courage which the inhabitants of those mountains have acquired.

Captain Laué desiring to see the Emir Beschir, who was staying at a village five hours distant, called El Hirby, we started for that destination next morning. Our route, which lay south-west over the mountains, was of a more uncultivated character than any we had traversed from Beyrout. This would not appear to arise from any poverty of soil, for, on the contrary, it was rich and alluvial nearly to the summits, with traces in every direction of former terraces and embankments; but is to be found in the fact of this portion of the range being more acces-

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sible from the plain, and hence more liable to military inroads. The difference in respect to cultivation compared with the district nearer the sea, and extending from the Nahr-el-Kelb to the Nahr-el-Maamiltein, is very great. The latter, an extent of about fifteen miles, presents the most cheering prospect in Lebanon for industry and population; although, perhaps, naturally less fertile than other parts. But then the mountains rise on every side in lofty ridges, almost perpendicular from the plain. Here the country, slightly undulated and expansive, was comparatively gloomy and desolate; the ruins of several lately burnt villages were pointed out to us, and also several in which the plague had manifested itself.

We found El Hirby a hamlet in process of reconstruction, and most favourably situated for agricultural purposes. The Emir was residing in a lately-finished cottage. On being shewn into one of the rooms (it

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was mid-day) we disturbed the several *courtiers* who were in attendance enjoying their *siesta;* and when they were aroused, the first person distinguishable, amidst the general yawns and efforts at waking, was Sheikh Francis, of fighting celebrity at Jouni. Three or four gaily equipped mountaineers shortly announced the approach of the Prince, who entered and seated himself in one of the corners. His furrowed countenance seemed strongly to denote determination and boldness of character.* He directly commenced

* The present Emir (Cassim) is nearly seventy years of age. He is a nephew of the old Prince, and is renowned amongst the Maronites for his former deeds of personal valour, having particularly distinguished himself, it is said, in the latter Druse conflicts of his uncle. His election, however, to the vacant chieftainship, was not, I consider, judicious; he is too old, and, as far as my personal intercourse with a great number of Syrians enabled me to form an opinion, is not possessed of sufficient personal influence. Under such a man the ebullitions of a self-willed peasantry are to be feared, as being but partially directed or controlled.

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conversation, making the dragoman kneel close beside him, and professed to be much interested in the result of the *reconnaissance*—speculated on future movements—and indeed manifested in conversation every mark of energy and intelligence. The Captain, after a little time, recurred to the subject of Ibrahim and the Boccah, and explained to the Emir what he considered many weak points in the enemy's position. In conclusion he urged upon him the favourable opportunity which existed for a night attack being made; drawing his inferences equally from the demoralisation of the Egyptian troops, their unwariness, and the natural disadvantages of their position. He inquired how many armed men the Emir had in Hamanah; to which the latter replied, "Two thousand infantry and five hundred cavalry." The Captain told him that with half that number of mountaineers he would answer at the penalty of his head for success.

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After a considerable parley the Emir thus gave his decision — "If you will get the General to send me 3000 Turkish troops in addition to my own, and twenty pieces of cannon; I will make the attack; but," he continued, "*if you can get the Commodore to come with a thousand of his ship-soldiers, I would like it better.*"

I will not stay to inquire whether the Emir was right or wrong in the above conclusions, but, having told the story, it is only fair I should add a few more words respecting Captain Laué. It becomes, I know, a question, how far he was authorised in making such propositions to the Emir. If I may venture my own opinion upon the matter, I should say, that Captain Laué's services to the Porte being of an unrestricted character, and the Emir Beschir, as a general, being perfectly at liberty to harass the enemy in any way he saw fit, an attack, even of the decided nature proposed, might have

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occurred without undue extension of authority on either side. It may be said, "The proposal should have been submitted to the Commander-in-chief of the land forces." But that officer was then in Beyrout, separated from the enemy by a lofty and wide range of mountain; and, moreover, had it been likely he would have countenanced such an attack (and he subsequently declared he would not), the Turkish troops around him were not so well adapted for the proposed service as the armed mountaineers of the Emir Beschir. Admitting, however, that Captain Laué was wrong in a point of discipline, there is much to be said, in extenuation, for his conduct. Had the proposal been correctly and officially submitted (putting the position that a reply would be returned), it would have had to filter through the heads of some dozen minor individuals before assuming a definitive form.

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There were ——, who always gave long opinions, and —— Pacha, who never gave opinions unless they concerned his pocket, and a string of others who, although they must utter their judgments, were seldom I believe guilty of *opinions* at all: in short, its most fortunate issue would have been a council of war, and that, in effect, was consigning the project to the tomb of the Capulets.

There can, I think, be little doubt as regards the probabilities of success, had the Captain's scheme been carried into effect. On subsequently visiting Zahlé, I found every disadvantage as to position which he had foretold, and I have since heard that opinion corroborated by British officers of rank and merit, who likewise visited the locality. Yet it was not the disadvantages of the enemy's position, or the bravery of the mountaineers, or any other considera-

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tion, which influenced Captain Laué in his opinion, beside the simple fact of the extreme *demoralisation* of the Egyptian soldiery.*

We took our leave of the Emir, who hospitably pressed us to remain for the night, and, after a long ride, arrived the same evening at Beyrout.

* * * *

I am happy to have at length arrived at a stage in this narrative in which, following the current of my story, we must leave for a time "the din of war's alarms," and pur-

* When I mentioned the circumstance to the French officer before alluded to, who was present with the Egyptian army in Zahlé, his remark was, "Either after the combat of Cornichovahn or the fall of Acre a single volley fired in the heights above Zahlé, and the army would have retreated *pêle-mêle*." (His opinion of the mountaineers, by the way, was not more flattering; for he added, "And had any third party discharged their arms midway between Zahlé and Hamanah, whilst the former would have retreated upon Damascus, I believe the mountaineers would have fled to Beyrout!")

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sue other more peaceful and less onerous topics. Affairs in Syria at this period suddenly assumed an altogether quiescent aspect. The paralysed enemy, shut up in the interior, were without aggressive force—dismembered and impoverished—requiring only a blow to complete their destruction. The condition of the Lebanon mountaineers we have lately had an insight into—unwilling of themselves to infringe upon the temporary *status quo*. On the other hand, the Turkish conquerors, whose ranks now contained nearly 15,000 men, were resting upon their laurels, and had even *less* belligerent features than either of the former. Instead of the previous hourly movements—sudden expeditions, skirmishes, bombardments, and such like, which kept every one upon the *qui vive*—when great ends were achieved with small and unassuming means—there was the gay pomp and appanage of war, but divested entirely of its fiercer attributes.

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Titles and decorations had arrived so thickly from the Porte, that it was a matter of some difficulty to distinguish former acquaintances under their numerous new grades of *Meeraligh*, *Ferik*, and *Pacha*. There was, besides, the newly-formed European *Staff*, who all enjoyed an increased local rank. The Seraglio gates (or English quarters) were guarded by our smart artillerymen, and flanked on either side by English howitzers. Groups of well-mounted officers, decked in all the beauty of military precision, were every where to be met; and the bustling orderly serjeants stalked on their varied errands, even through the motley groups of the bazars. But, as I have said, it was *only* the external appanage; not a word of *fighting* was whispered or dreamed of.*

* Of course, in putting forth these statements I am only giving the impressions that presented themselves to me personally as a casual and non-military spectator. I have no wish to assume for myself the place of a censor (which I am wholly incompetent to), and I

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I now for the first time took up my permanent residence on shore, where I became domiciled with Major E. Napier, the author of those racy sketches "Scenes and Sports in Foreign Lands." My meeting and acquaintance with this gallant officer was accidental,—the result of one of those unexpected freaks of fortune we sometimes have

therefore beg to state that I offer my opinions on no other grounds than as a faithful transcript of impressions and sentiments which occurred to my mind at the time I am describing. In case such sentiments may lead to other than right conclusions on the particular subject in question — the conduct of Sir C. Smith — I shall quote the opinions lately uttered by a very high authority (Admiral Sir R. Stopford) respecting that gallant and highly distinguished officer. The following is an extract from "The Times'" report of a late dinner at the Mansion House, at which Admiral Stopford and Commodore Napier were present (September 30) :—

"He regretted he did not see present Sir C. Smith his colleague, who was intended to command the troops at the siege of Acre. His severe illness prevented him taking any very active part at the commencement of the operations; but when, subsequently, on his return

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to congratulate ourselves upon. As our erratic stars subsequently threw us for some months together, and in the encounter of many "moving accidents" and "hair-breadth 'scapes," he will, I hope, pardon me for consulting the satisfaction of my reader by introducing him at once upon my pages. The Major, I believe, came out to Syria (under

from Acre to Beyrout, Ibrahim Pacha was reported within two days' march, and when Sir C. Smith was strongly urged to march across the mountains and attack him in the valley near Damascus, that gallant officer saw the inutility of attacking him with but a small body of cavalry, owing to the advantage of the position which he occupied; yet his gallant friend, nevertheless, predicted that before a certain number of days Ibrahim Pacha would be compelled to decamp and proceed towards Damascus for want of food. And so the fact really turned out; so well did Sir. C. Smith know the position of Ibrahim's army (*cheers*). He mentioned this as a singular proof of the discrimination, professional knowledge, and distinguished ability which that gallant officer possessed; although he had not, unfortunately, from ill health, an opportunity of signalising himself in the immediate action."

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leave of absence) at the instigation of the Commodore, who was anxious he should have the benefit of "the little bit of fighting" that was then going forward. The moment of his arrival was, in this point of view, most inopportune; for he came up just *a day too late* for Acre, and at the very time when, there being nothing more to do on the coast, the Commodore was starting for Alexandria, to try his hand at negotiation and diplomacy. Shortly after our acquaintanceship commenced, he proposed we should continue together whilst in Syria. Although my taste as regarded *soldiering* was not altogether consonant with his own, still, from the equal and talented interest he entertained upon almost every other subject connected with the country, our views so far coincided, that I could not but receive the proposal with extreme satisfaction.

We lived in the house of a respectable Syrian family, that of *Habbib Giammal*, or,

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interpreted, *the esteemed camel-driver*. Our landlord, Giorgius, the head of this family, was a young man hardly out of his teens; and, having some competency, and withal *un beau garçon*, did not follow either his ancestral or any other avocation. The *hareem*, or women's portion of the house, was composed of his mother, a fair widow of forty, and her two daughters, both Eastern beauties of their kind, *Sarah* and *Anas-sarah;* the first, a laughing, black-eyed houris, with mischief in every dimple of her pretty face; the other a more portly damsel, of a melancholy, but not less pleasing, expression. There were besides three younger children, with equally poetic names, but which I have forgotten; and included in the coterie was a good-humoured negress (the general handmaid), whose original cognomen was lost in the apposite *sobriquet* of "Snowball," which she acquired from the Major.

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Our being thus intimately admitted into an Eastern circle of this description was a matter of remarkable occurrence; nor did a similar instance fall out amongst the numerous other European strangers then in Syria. By singular coincidence, Major Napier and myself had been separately introduced to a talented Syrian, Assaad Kayaat, who, educated at an English university, was an Englishman in sentiment; and such high confidence had he in both our introductions, as at once to offer us boarding in the house of his wife's family. This confidence, and his kindness, was a debt which it was not easy for us adequately to repay.

Our mode of life in Beyrout was sufficiently novel and diversified, so that the few succeeding weeks passed both pleasantly and profitably. The Syrian family I have enumerated, though "charming people," did not, it must be remembered, speak any other tongue than *Arabic* (except Giorgius, who

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was a good Italian scholar); but this inconvenience was hardly felt, and was even desirable, since we were both anxious to acquire some acquaintance with the language. Major Napier's proceedings for this purpose were much more laborious and systematic than mine. He commenced to write and read Arabic during several hours of each day. I contented myself with a plan which, if less scholastic, was more agreeable, namely, frequent conversation with the fair inmates, and noting the words as they were acquired.

And there were yet other resources for employment. Assaad, who was ably informed upon the topics of his country, was ever ready to satisfy, as far as possible, our inquiries; and, besides, to find others who willingly offered what information they possessed. The Syrian is the best man for that sort of thing in the world. If you only get him to cross his legs on a comfortable carpet, and ply him with the nahrgyley and fresh

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coffee, he will chat with you for any length of time you please.

The town, also, and its environs, was not wholly unimportant. Beyrout is interesting even in its modern Arabic name, which has singularly preserved its original appellation of Βήρυτ by the Greeks. The diligent observer may still discover some few traces which remind him of its claims to antiquity. The most of these would seem to point to a period *anterior* to its occupation by the Romans. Both on the southern and northern sides I stumbled upon a series of tombs, excavated in the rock; and, in one instance, fragments of sarcophagi were buried in the ground near at hand. These tombs I subsequently found to be much allied in character to the celebrated excavations, of a similar description, at Om Kais on the Jordan.*

* I noticed the same feature at most of the localities of ancient note along the coast,—at Gebail, Sidon, Tyre, Jaffa, and Tripoli.

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A number of shafts of columns, of grey and red granite, are scattered in and around the harbour.*

The number of Greek and mediæval coins, with intaglios and other engraved stones, to be found in this vicinity, is surprising. I believe there is not any other field, without excepting Italy, equally prolific, and from the simple reason of its being almost untrodden ground by the *cognoscenti*. An Italian, who came to Syria in the Turkish service, shewed me a collection he made, in the course of a few months, from the pea-

* Mr. Buckingham, a most diligent observer, remarked, in his passage through Beyrout, in 1816, several interesting remains of this description, but which, I believe, are now no longer to be found. He describes a fine sarcophagus, partly broken,—"in the exterior sides and ends of which are sculptured, in high relief, a bull's head and wreaths; and at the angle of each corner a ram's head, like that of the sphinxes at Thebes, or the Jupiter Ammon of Egypt, exceedingly well wrought."

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santry in the neighbourhood of Beyrout: they comprised some exquisite gems of antiquity.

I remember the first time I made inquiry in the town for *salhoot* or *anteeka* (coins and *antiques*), I was referred to a tailor who was said to have a great taste in such matters. On my being introduced to him, and stating my wishes, he drew forth a dirty leather bag, in which it appeared his collection was contained. I found, amongst other things, some fine crystal pendules, originally belonging to a chandelier; a great number of Roman and Byzantine copper coins; some Ionian farthings; a small silver Greek coin; and a few engraved stones. For the sum of ten piastres (two shillings) the tailor agreed I should have the small silver coin, one of the engraved stones, and a dozen of the copper *salhoot* at choice: these included the only articles I thought worthy of attention. The engraved

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stone, which is about the third of an inch in length, has an admirable representation of one of the forms of ancient auspice. A bird is in the act of picking the seed; at the top is the word ΙΛΑΡΟC (Ἱλαρός, signifying, like Ἱλαῖος, cheerful or *propitious*); and at each of the other corners are depicted various sacrificial instruments. This is a general sample of the fortune that attended my researches.

The Lebanon, also, by its proximity, offered opportunity for frequent short excursions, where matter of the highest interest presented itself. So satisfactory were those rambles, that it is a matter of some difficulty which to select, as most worthy to be dwelt on. Say we follow the romantic and rugged course of the Dog River, with the incidents which occurred in one of those journeys.

We were in the saddle by sun-rise. And here let me add, if you would well employ

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a day for an excursion or an enterprise start early; when

> ". . . . Jocund day
> Stands tiptoe on the misty mountain-tops."

Every minute after the dawn that sees you unprepared is so much to be subtracted from your chances of good fortune.

Proceeding northward from Beyrout, we traversed a rich tract of terraced gardens, environing in a wide semicircle that side of the town. Although I could not exactly discover the bright perfections of romantic-picturesque which Lamartine describes in this locality, yet, it must be admitted, he has not in some points done more than justice to the scene. In others, "o'erstepping the modesty of nature," he has, I think, withheld many simple beauties actually belonging to it. Beyrout, situate on a headland, surrounded by a diversified and highly

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fertile plain, and bounded inland by a bold and expansive chain of mountain, possesses the main elements of pictorial beauty. Still the foreground is only a scene of humble cultivation. It is the green mulberry-tree, cropped and planted in rows, with here and there a stately lime or fig, shadowing a khan or coffee-house; or the straggling and luxuriant cactus, rising by the way-side high above your head. But it was that distant and bold outline marked upon the horizon, whose grandeur, enlivened by every feature of beauty, produces equally awe and delight. There it was the soul of the *poet* became embodied in his descriptive lines, equally fraught with majesty and with truth:—

"... les hautes montagnes des chaînes du Liban ouvrent leurs gorges profondes où l'œil se perd dans les ténèbres du lointain; elles y versent leurs larges torrens devenus des fleuves; elles y prennent des directions diverses ... et leurs sommets inégaux,

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perdus dans les nuages ou blanchis par la répercussion du soleil, ressemblent à nos Alpes couvertes de neiges éternelles," &c. &c.

And through those gardens, with the Lebanon in view, did we now wend our way. Giorgius, our host, accompanied us, equipped in the extreme of Eastern *ton;* his blue trouser-bags (*sudereeah*) contained, I fancy, nearly a dozen yards of cloth, so as to protrude over his high-peaked saddle; his broad white turban was gaily wound on one side; and his bright scarlet slippers, curled at the toes, were resting in huge shovel-stirrups, almost a foot in width.

We galloped on with but little intermission until near the point (distant from Beyrout about ten miles) where the Lebanon suddenly again approaches the sea. Here, as is frequent on the Syrian shore, the bluff rock abuts precipitously upon the ocean, so as to have rendered it necessary to cut out a road around its side. These tracts appear

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in every instance to be the remains of bygone eras, when wealth, enterprise, and intelligence, existed in the country. The present instance is the most interesting of any I have observed, and is rich in the traces and associations of antiquity. It is, perhaps, in extent a thousand yards. Near the commencement of the road, on the Beyrout side, are a number of cavities, from whence blocks of large size have been hewn. Thence we gain the height of the rock that overlooks the sea, when the embouchure of the river, and its meandering course through the severed mountains, bursts suddenly upon the view. At this portion, also, is a tablet graven on the cliff, with a Roman inscription, noticed by travellers, from Maundrell downwards, setting forth that the road there had been repaired and improved by the Emperor Antoninus. A little above this, hidden from the path, are several full-length figures, sculptured in bas-relief, and apparently re-

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presenting various acts of votive offering. These figures have generally been overlooked by travellers. I did not see any thing of the same character throughout the rest of Syria.

Continuing the hewn path we now descend towards the river, which is crossed by a modern but well-built bridge. A long Arabic inscription, almost effaced, may be observed on the cliff before crossing the bridge, and which La Roque, who visited Syria in 1688,* declares to be an inscription purporting that the bridge was built by Fakar-el-Din, the noted Druse chief, who flourished at the commencement of that century. On the opposite bank a stone aqueduct, of good proportions, extends inland along the mountain. Thus not only are some of the wildest scenic beauties col-

* "Voyage de Syrie et du Mont Liban." 2 tomes. Paris, 1722.

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lected together, but many bright recollections of past ages. Some of the old geographers suppose this river to be the Λῦκος (Wolf River) of the Greeks—hence the *Lycus* of the Romans. There is a tradition that a rock in the figure of a huge wolf once stood near its embouchure, and from whence it was alike called by the Arabs Nahr-el-*Kelb*, or the River of the Wild Dog. Others have fancied that the peculiar rushing sound of its rapid waters, rendered sonorous by the perpendicular cliffs that surround it, and seeming to resemble the baying of wolves or wild dogs, was the cause of its similarity of title throughout different nations. Any way the fact is remarkable. Were it only from the importance of this locality in a military light, there is little doubt but that it was a permanent position during the occupation of Syria by the Roman Legions.

A narrow bridle-path by the side of the

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aqueduct enabled us to penetrate nearly a mile higher up the stream; but, immediately afterwards, its course was so completely inclosed as to preclude our farther progress. We ascended the heights. It was a noble sight to look down upon that impetuous current, dashing and eddying over its rocky bed, and hemmed in with mountains of the most gigantic proportions.

We were anxious to discover, if possible, a famed cavern, said to exist midway to the source of the river. After wandering for many a league, and when our horses were beginning to tire with the severe ascents, we at length arrived at a mountain hamlet, where Giorgius found a peasant, who said he could conduct us to the spot we were in search of. His first information was that we must dismount, as the route was difficult even on foot. And true it was; for we shortly commenced a continuous descent, more suited for goats

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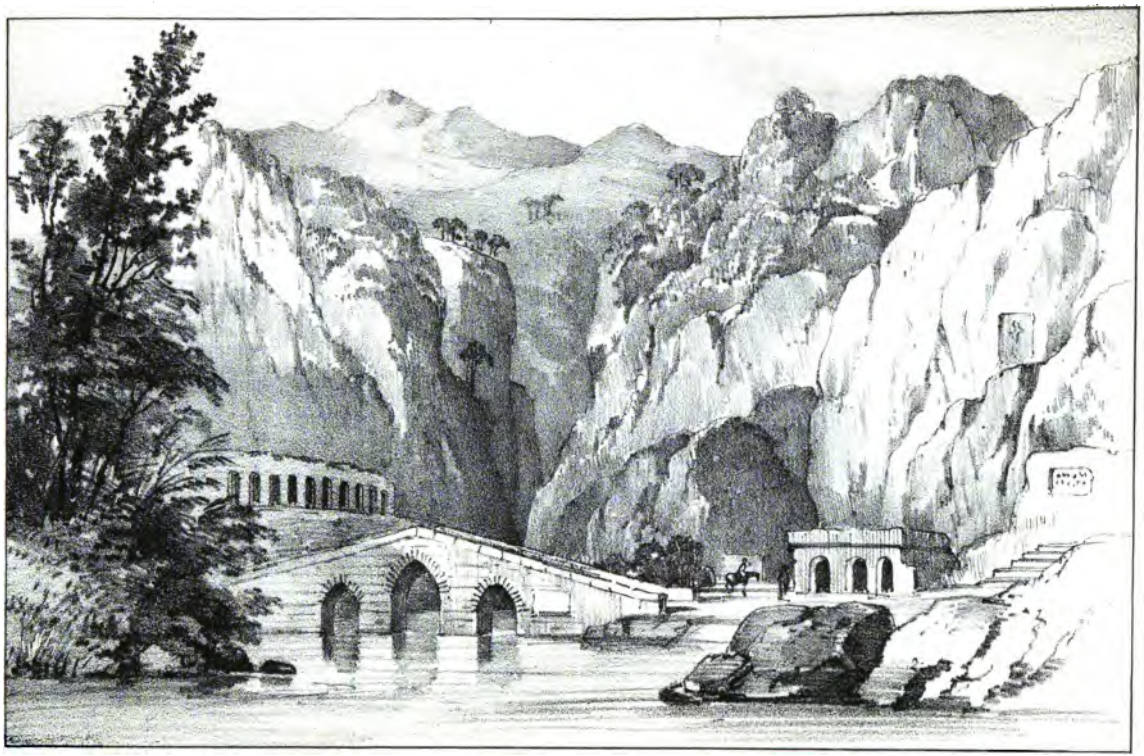

J. Hamerton, Lith.

Printed by J. McCarthy.

EMBOUCHURE OF THE DOG RIVER.

Published by Henry Colburn, Gt Marlborough St. 1842

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than men. But the old mountaineer, who was our guide, continued steadily on his way, making nothing of obstacles; and the descent, under his example, was merrily passed, and little thought of. In another hour we stood again by the dark waters of the river, now much decreased in size. An amphitheatre of mountains environed us on every side. The mouth of the cavern was seen a little above the bank we were upon. At its entrance were a few stunted trees, whilst, from another aperture, gushed a limpid stream, which fell into the river below in a series of wild cascades. The spot was picturesque, but too wild and dreary to induce perfectly pleasurable emotions. In many points it reminded me of Walter Scott's description of the Goblin Cave, in the "Lady of the Lake" (Canto III):—

"It was a strange and wild retreat
As e'er was trod by outlaw's feet.

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The dell upon the mountain's crest
Yawn'd like a gash in warrior's breast;
Its trench had staid full many a rock,
Hurl'd by primeval earthquake shock.

* * * * *

And here in random ruin piled,
That frown'd incumbent o'er the spot,
And form'd the rugged sylvan grot."

We had brought wax torches, but, at the moment of need, found that the flint and steel were lost! The Major's expedient on this occasion was worthy of his fame as a ranger of the jungle. He tore some cotton into shreds, and, after one or two efforts, succeeded in lighting it at the flash of his pistol, then, by blowing it in a handful of leaves, it got a-blaze.

We entered the vasty halls of the cavern, when our guide begged of us to proceed with caution; he, evidently, was as much at a loss as ourselves. Proceeding onwards we saw huge bats, hanging in thick festoons upon the chalky roof; glared by our lights

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they fluttered their skinny wings, uttering shrill and chirruping cries, which were repeated from a far extent around. We had proceeded about an hundred yards, when rocks, a few feet in height, obstructed our farther progress. A cold current of air rushed up from the other side, and, upon stretching out our lights, we saw an abyss, apparently most profound, extending into the interior of the mountain. We threw over a piece of rock, and heard it boom from side to side, until, at length, it splashed in water. Another gallery led from this to the left, along which we proceeded, but, as may be presumed, looking well to our ways. Soon we turned again, by a high-domed passage, in a direction outwards from the cavern. A truly beautiful sight now presented itself. We first saw, in the distance, a bright light breaking through a low but broad crevice in the mountain, and, upon a nearer approach, found that a vast sheet

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of water lay extended between us and the day: the subdued reflection upon its surface—the dark recesses surrounding it—with its rippling exit over sedge and mosses—made it appear such as mythological poetry has painted the home of a Naïad or a river-god. We ultimately found this to be the stream which discharged itself near where we entered the cavern.

Day was on the wane when we commenced the task of ascending the heights to the point where we had lately left our horses. I shall not soon forget the labour of that evening's journey, under the languor of a declining Syrian sun. Our old guide, who had tripped downwards so gaily, could now mount again with just as little trouble. I verily believe he did not once turn to take breath. The Major, who piqued himself on his *wind*, managed to keep up with him. I could hardly hold them in sight. Giorgius, who was a fat

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youth, and never much out of the town before, was left far in the rear. On his arrival at the village he laid himself flat on his back, and, with a most lachrymose countenance, informed us he was about to die. But he was only *dead*-beat, and an instillation from the brandy-flask, with a hard-boiled egg, soon brought him to more cheerful opinions. Mounting then our refreshed nags, and favoured by a bright moon, we turned again in the direction of home.

* * * *

The month of December was ushered in with one of the most violent of those gales, which, at the fall of the year, assail the Syrian coast. The squadron, with the exception of the Bellerophon of the line, had previously been brought round to St. George's Bay, where the anchorage is somewhat more secure.

I cannot do better than at once quote

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a passage from the graphic letter of an officer in the Bellerophon; which ship, lying before Beyrout, had a very narrow escape in the storm:—

"The evening of the 1st of December was quite fine, with little wind, but it freshened up during the night to a gale. At half-past five in the morning one anchor came home in an awful squall of rain and wind: a second anchor was let go, but this was of no avail, the ship kept driving broadside on, never looking to the anchors. The only chance now was to slip and make sail; this was done very quickly, leaving the anchors in deep water. We got sail on the ship, carrying a heavy press to keep her off from the shore; both the pinnace and barge were swamped while the ship drove. By nine in the morning it blew a hurricane; nothing could resist it; the sea was running high, and no signs of a

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lull. The fore and main courses were blown clean away, also the foretop-mast stay-sail, not leaving a dozen yards of canvass in the tree. The foretop-sail split soon after noon; the maintop-sail went to ribands, only saving the part reefed: then the main-trysail. The ship was now labouring heavily, and the main-mast complaining. We threw overboard the upper-deck guns and shot, which appeared to ease the ship much, —all hands employed shifting sails, as well as the tempest would permit, which, during the storm of rain, hail, and wind, was no easy job. Towards sunset it became evident that nothing less than a miracle could save us. The ship kept dragging along shore—a shore presenting no place of refuge. We bent the cable to the spare anchor, and made every precaution for cutting away our masts, as, by nine at night, every one was satisfied that nothing more could be done, and that our safety

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was utterly hopeless. At this time, during a most pelting storm of rain, the Captain sent for the ship's company aft, and told them the position of the ship; saying that much depended on their coolness and conduct, and to the attention paid to orders. The men went up with a will to bend fore and maintop-sails. Just at this time the wind lulled for a moment, and the ship broke off two points, now heading right on shore, not more than five miles off it, —some say only three. As our sole chance we put the helm up, and the Bellerophon wore where, perhaps, very few ships would. Indeed, this fine ship behaved nobly through the whole gale. After coming-to on the larboard tack the wind came aft two points, the ship coming up S. S.W., and sometimes a point higher. We made all possible sail we could carry; rain and sleet still continuing, but wind a little abated. By four in the morning we were some ten miles

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off the land, and leading south-west. The watch was called,—all hands had been on deck twenty-four hours. Upon the whole, it was an extraordinary and very narrow escape from most imminent peril. Had the ship grounded, she would have gone to pieces, and all hands must have perished."

Other ships, less exposed, did not escape so fortunately as the Bellerophon. An Austrian corvette lost her foremast clean by the board; and of twelve merchant vessels, which were in the Bay with the squadron, *five* were cast on shore, and one, a brig, foundered at her anchors.

When the gale was at its height, Captain Laué, Major Napier, and myself, rode round to the cliffs at St. George's Bay. The spectacle was truly grand. Huge waves dashed on the rocks below, and threw, by their violence, showers of spray high above our heads; the distant dark

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clouds flew swiftly over the lofty peaks of Lebanon; and on the tossing and troubled ocean lay the huge hulks of the ships of the line, pitching heavily into the trough of the waves, whilst their smaller consorts, at times, were entirely lost to view in the seas that reared themselves around.

The storm which was then experienced, and which lasted for several days, prevailed, nearly with equal fury, throughout the whole of the eastern shores of the Mediterranean. None of the rest of our squadron, however, who were at sea, suffered any damage. H.M. brig Zebra, lying at Caiffa, was driven on shore; and the Pique frigate, off the same place, had a most remarkable escape from a similar catastrophe.

The frigate, after parting from two iron and one hempen cable, cut away her masts, and hove several of her guns overboard, in the hope of thus being enabled to hold

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on with her only remaining cable. The sequel is a bright instance of the aid which a kind Providence at times vouchsafes, when the boldest efforts of man would seem to fail. Already had she drove to *within a few yards of the beach*—her hempen cable chafed by the wreck of masts and spars, appeared merely to delay the approaching calamity—when suddenly the winds lulled, and she was hence enabled to ride out, in her perilous situation, the night in safety.

* * * *

The interview we lately had with the Emir Beschir, or Prince of Lebanon, and in which, to a certain extent, we may have intruded upon his privacy, could not be regarded as a picture of his ordinary mode of life. I was, therefore, glad when Major Napier proposed to me to accompany him on a visit of ceremony to that chieftain,

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to whom he had a letter of introduction from the Commodore.

We found the Emir at Hamanah. We were directed to a large house, something in the Swiss style, and apparently set apart for the transaction of public business. The court-yard, in which we alighted, was crowded with retainers. A buzz of curiosity and surprise soon passed round, occasioned, no doubt, by the Major's appearance in full uniform, and the no less gay figure of Giorgius, his dragoman. We were conducted up a flight of steps, and along a corridor of some length, still making our way through a crowd of armed men. I was not a little surprised, at this stage of proceedings, to hear my own name frequently called out —"Ah! Houtar! Houtar! keef hahleck?" (*Anglicè*, How do you do?) The salutations proceeded from a number of mountaineers who were present in the late *re-*

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connaisance, though I am not aware of any particular circumstance which may account for their remembrance of me.

After a short time we were ushered into the presence of the Emir. He arose to receive the Major, expressing the most flowery Eastern compliments in return for the letter of the Commodore.

"Fame is on your brow," he said: "you shall be my son: may we never part!" &c. &c.

Having seated ourselves, of course pipes and coffee made their appearance, and conversation was started, as usual. The room was filled with Sheikhs and chief men, who stood in a respectful circle round the carpet on which the Emir and ourselves were seated. Two secretaries knelt in a corner, behind the great man, writing from occasional dictation. Presently we were gratified by seeing preparations for a repast, for it was then mid-day, and we had been in the

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mountains since sunrise. A small inlaid table, the size of a chess-board, was placed in the midst of the party. A pilau, and other Eastern dishes, sweet and sour, were then brought forward, and—most notable of luxuries for a mountaineer to produce—there were silver spoons and *forks!* It would appear, however, that, *in practice*, if his Highness had any choice about the matter, it was still in preference for his fingers. After our meal, a ewer and basin were presented, when the Prince washed not only his hands, but the inside of his mouth, with abundance of soap, as is the Syrian custom. The further intellectual recreation of pipes and coffee then again ensued, after which we arose to depart; but it was soon notified that our entertainer had not yet shewn the full measure of attention with which he determined to honour his guest.

Major Napier had previously, in the course of conversation, expressed a desire to

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see the Emir's troops under arms; but the latter seemed at the time to take little notice of the request. Now, however, he informed him that his brother Abdallah would proceed with him to a spot where the men would be drawn out for his inspection. We were then conducted to another apartment in the same house, where we found Abdallah installed in an equal degree of ceremony; with this difference only, that the Sheikhs and other subordinate chiefs might sit in his presence. We proceeded with him through the village to the place of review, and at length reached the large court of the principal residence, where Captain Laué and myself alighted on a former occasion. The place was yet empty, and we waited in patient expectation with Abdallah and his numerous attendants.

During this interval we were accosted by several of the mountaineers, in French and Italian, both of which languages they

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spoke moderately well. Some of these men had been present at our interview with their Prince, but did not at that time inform us of their acquaintance with any European tongue. This fact serves to illustrate a feature of cunning and *finesse*, common alike to the character of the Maronite and the Druse. They had doubtless been on the look-out, to pick up any extra remarks passing between the Major and his dragoman. He was not without suspicion of the ambush.

We were informed by these mountaineers that the buildings around contained the hareem of the Emir Beschir. It would appear that he fixed upon this locality, equally in order to amuse the fair handmaids about the person of his princess.

The space where we were was a quadrangle, perhaps two hundred yards in length. Round its extent a line of mountaineers, completely armed, formed three

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deep. But no movement was made by them; and the space in the interior, with the entrance, was kept scrupulously clear. Every thing bore the appearance of a greater arrival being expected; but we did not deprive expectation of its effect by asking questions. In a little time, a distant shout was heard, with the frequent discharge of fire-arms, when we were informed that the Emir Beschir himself was approaching. A crowd of several hundred horsemen soon now appeared near the gate of the spacious court, from amongst whom the Emir advanced, on a charger of the most beautiful proportions, and accompanied by three or four others, well caparisoned and mounted. A long shout was raised by the assembled bands, as the old man pranced into the circle, managing, with easy yet admirable skill, his fiery but well-trained steed. Would that Landseer could have seen that Arab and his rider! Now, indeed, we might

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believe we beheld a *prince*, and one of Nature's nobility. The scene which ensued was rapid and highly exciting. The few cavaliers who accompanied the Prince, as well as the latter himself, spurred their horses to full career, — now checking them, now letting them spring forward again. Sabres were drawn, and mimic threats of defiance and combat carried on between the parties. It was the *spectacle* of an Arab *mêlée*, and well exemplified the personal manœuvres of that people in single combat. The magical command which they seemed to possess over their horses was, perhaps, the most extraordinary part of the exhibition. Those high-blooded and apparently fierce animals, when on the most impetuous course, would, in an instant, throw themselves violently back upon their haunches, remaining for several seconds in that position, like statues, except for the quivering which was to be seen in every muscle of

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their frames. It was not, however, a pleasurable picture to the lover of the noble brute; at least, if, like myself, he was aware of the torturing means by which that seeming docility was effected. Their bits have a ring from the middle of the mouth, which encircles the under jaw, and by which, of course, there is a lever for pressure against the tender roof of the animal's mouth; and the slightest weight, even that of a finger, causes him excruciating pain.

The favourite Arab amusement of throwing the irrad, or blunt lance, next followed, and when a much larger amount of horsemen were permitted to join with the Emir. All took aim *pêle-mêle* against the other. For a moment their horses reared steadily in the air,—the rider rose in his saddle,—and then his javelin spun aloft, directed towards the head of some unfortunate horseman, distant, perhaps, twenty yards. Frequently the antagonist shewed the greatest

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skill in avoiding the impending dart. They would bend their bodies forward upon the neck of their horses, sometimes stooping nearly out of the saddle, or would manage even to catch in their hands the weapon that was directed against them, and instantly hurl it back again from whence it came. This amusement lasted for nearly an hour, when both men and horses began to shew symptoms of fatigue. The old Emir then dismounted, and the greater body of horsemen immediately followed his example. It soon appeared the above was all the "review" contemplated by the Emir, and we, consequently, soon after made our last bow, and galloped out of the village.

The day was already far spent, and it was midnight ere we reached Beyrout.

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CHAPTER III.

FURTHER OBSERVATIONS UPON LEBANON — ITS RELIGIOUS AND POLITICAL CONDITION.

I DOUBT not it will be thought that, having recurred so frequently of late to these mountains and their inhabitants, I must shortly be about to branch off upon other topics. But no, patient reader! (for you deserve the title if you have followed me thus far), I have intended what little has been said merely as an introduction to a somewhat graver disquisition upon the same subject: for, let me assure you, it is upon this that every thing of interest in the country hinges. Whether you follow me in

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search of incident, or, mayhap, in hope of some new gleam on a dark page of history, or, if with a still higher bent, would reach to a correct political opinion upon that important portion of the East,—whatever of these be your motives, I invite you, as the best means of realising such postulata, to accompany me in this proposed further digression

UPON LEBANON AND ITS TRIBES.

Whose head in wintry grandeur towers,
Whiten'd with eternal sleet;
While summer, in a vale of flowers,
Is sleeping, rosy, at its feet.

It would afford us no small interest, did it come within our province to trace, even in outline, the history of this important range, including, as do its annals, almost every era of the world, and preserving its Canaanitish title (Leben—white, from the snow upon its extreme summits) through every successive gradation of Phœnician,

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Persian, Greek, Roman, and Arabian dynasties. The mere enumeration of these separate stages of its history renders its prolonged consideration impracticable, but must serve to impress us with an interest in the locality.

There is not, I should think, a spot on earth better adapted for what has been termed mountain-independence than is the Lebanon. Defined on every side by steep and lofty barriers,—laved along its principal extent by the waves of the ocean,—ascending, in successive and distinct mountains, to heights where, from the nature of the ground, every inch of rock may be contested, — containing within its limits innumerable plateaux, covered with a deep and most fertile soil, with abundance of pure water, and rejoicing in a heavenly climate, —it would seem created from the hand of Nature a stronghold against the oppressor.

Lebanon may be said to be in the joint

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possession of two tribes, — the Maronite and the Druse; the former of which possesses by far the most important hold.

The Maronite population are for the most part comprised in the portion of the range of which Beyrout may be called the southern, and Gebail the northern boundary. A much smaller space, within these limits, exclusively appertains to them; that of the Kisruan (the *Castravan* of the Crusaders), and which includes an extent of ten miles only, to the northward of Dog River. Within the latter district are more than 150,000 Maronites. Villages arise at almost a stone's throw from each other, whilst the feature of the scene is rendered still more remarkable by the peculiarly bold and inaccessible character of this locality. Hamlets, like eagles' eyries, stud the surrounding heights; and not a spot can the eye detect but shews traces of the hand of man, where vast series of terraces extend,

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flourishing under the most careful cultivation. At every turning are seen convents, nestled amid the richest and most fertile nooks; whilst the vine, the fig, the olive, and the date-tree, intermingled with the mulberry, enhance by their varied tints the fine effect of the picture. Such is the country of the Maronite. A word, next, as to the people themselves.

The origin of the Maronites, as a sect, may be proved to be of high antiquity; but, at the same time, it is a point involved in some degree of controversy. They profess themselves to be the disciples of a St. Maron, a Syrian abbot, who lived at the commencement of the fifth century, and who maintained, say they, the pure doctrines of the early Christian church. The celebrated historian, William, archbishop of Tyre, declares that these people were only admitted within the pale of Christianity at

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about the middle of the twelfth century. De la Roque, who is the best modern authority upon the subject, supports — and, I think, satisfactorily — the prior claim of the Maronites. A letter is extant from St. Chrysostom, addressed to Maron (Ad Maronem Monachum et Presbyterum, Epist. S. Joan. Chrysost. xxxvi.); and the Annals of Cardinal Baronius, in 631, mention a monastic sect founded by such a man upon the banks of the Orontes. It would appear that the term Maronite was soon employed as the first distinctive appellation for Catholicism in Syria, in opposition to the generally prevailing dogma of Monotholism. In the reign of Constantine Pogonat, this sect, according to Cedrenus, an historian of that period, would seem to have become considerably extended; and he states (in 676 of the Christian era), that one of the Maronite partisans then, for the first time,

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established its doctrines in Lebanon, and it was considered under the authority of the Roman See.

Volney, who, during his eight months' residence in those mountains, consulted many of the native chroniclers, states that, for several successive centuries after the above period, Lebanon became an asylum from religious persecution of every caste. By no other means can we account for the fact of Pagan and Christian amalgamating together as they did for so long a series of ages, and submitting to be governed even by a single head.

In 1588, during the reign of Amurat the Third, the Lebanon was so far reduced to a state of subjection by the Ottoman power as to be compelled to pay tribute. That capitulation has remained in effect to the present day; but every effort by which the Porte has since attempted farther to

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introduce its own garrisons, or its direct rule, has successfully been withstood.

The renowned Druse Fakr-el-Din, in whose family the supreme chieftainship was vested, ruled over these tribes during the early part of the seventeenth century. He at length extended his sway throughout the whole of the mountain district between Tripoli and Sidon; and it was only after a long and successful career, during which period he introduced a great degree of civilisation into the mountains, that he fell a victim to the jealousy of the Ottoman government, who, however, did not achieve his overthrow without large efforts. The family of Fakr-el-Din shortly after became extinct, and the Shehab (its present rulers) were elected, by popular consent, to succeed it.

Burckhardt, in his "Travels in Syria and the Holy Land" (p. 187), gives the fol-

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lowing information respecting the Kisruan district:—

"It is about three hours and a half in length, from north to south, and from two to three hours in breadth across the mountains, exclusively inhabited by Christians; neither Turks nor Druses reside in it. . . . . A man's wealth is estimated by the number of rotolas of silk which he makes; and the annual taxes are calculated and distributed in proportion to them. The miri, or land-tax, is taken upon the mule's loads of mulberry-leaves,—eight or ten trees, in common years, yielding one load; and, as the income of the proprietors depends entirely upon the growth of their leaves, they suffer less from a bad crop, because their taxes are proportionally low. The extraordinary extortions of the Government, however, are excessive. The Emir often exacts five or six miris in the year; and one levy of money is no sooner paid than

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orders are received for a fresh one of twenty or thirty purses upon the province. The village Sheikh fixes the contributions to be paid by each village, taking care to appropriate a part of them to himself. Last year, many peasants were obliged to sell a part of their furniture to defray the taxes. It may easily be conceived, therefore, in what misery they live: they can eat scarcely any thing but the worst bread, and oil, or soups made of the wild herbs, of which tyranny cannot deprive them. Notwithstanding the wretchedness in which they are left by the Government, they have still to satisfy the greediness of their priests; but these contributions they pay with cheerfulness. Many of the convents, indeed, are too rich to require their assistance; but those which are poor, together with all the parish priests and church officers, live upon the people. Such is the condition of this Christian commonwealth, which, instead of

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deserving the envy of other Christians living under the Turkish yoke, is in a more wretched state than any other part of Syria; but the predominance of their church consoles them under every other affliction; and, were the Druse Governor to deprive them of their last para, they would still remain in the vicinity of their convent."

The above is truly a most remarkable passage, and a fruitful volume might be written upon it, as from a text, by which to illustrate the present comparative condition of Syria, and the gradations through which it has passed, resulting from evident and instructive causes. Maronite Lebanon,— then "*in a more wretched state than any other part of Syria,*"— now (twenty years only having elapsed since the description was written) the most flourishing, as well as the most important, portion of the country; its Christian population having, in late operations, been one of the main causes of the

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overthrow of Egyptian rule; the only party who possess actual unity and power in the country; and whose present political existence would seem a sure guarantee of the future riddance from thraldom of all that portion of the East.

Yet Lebanon has not ceased to be misgoverned! It will be instructive to inquire into the causes which have produced this wonderful change; and the question at once resolves itself in a very evident explanation, — the increased power of their late Emir, which taught them their actual independence of Mahommedanism, be it Stamboline or Alexandrian. I have, on another occasion, detailed at length the history and progress to power of the late Emir Beschir. I have given an outline of the sagacity and judgment which marked the varied proceedings of that Prince throughout a long series of years, during which period he levied immense sums from the Maronites;

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but by means, well applied, however to be condemned in a personal light, of a portion of these exactions, and equally by courage, tact, and ambition, succeeded in possessing himself, with the consent of the Turks, of the entire range of Lebanon. The Emir enriched himself at the expense of his subjects, but his talents extended and united the Christian community; and, when all obstacles to his rule were overcome, although he did not the less forget his passion of avarice, he wisely knew that he could the better satisfy it by encouraging the peasantry, and hence enabling them to support greater demands. His skill, however, had hardly perfected the fabric, before events brought on other and more fortunate issues. Lebanon murmured against her oppressors; she had felt her acquired strength; and the futile attempts of Ibrahim tended to quicken results. The history of the revolts of 1839 are known; those which, in 1840, increased

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in fervour, were the remote cause of British interference, and of the consequent subversion of the Egyptian dominion in Syria, and with it that of the old Emir Beschir.

Intelligence from that country now proves that, for the future, neither Turk nor Egyptian can successfully misrule there; and that in the natural fastnesses of Lebanon's mountains, LIBERTY, long unknown in the East, has again established her sanctuary.

> . . . "Slaves, that once conceive the glowing thought
> Of Freedom, in that hope itself possess
> All that the contest calls for; spirit, strength,
> The scorn of danger, and united hearts;
> The surest presage of the good they seek."
>
> *The Task*, Book v.

And in such a condition is Lebanon today.

At various times I made the tour of all the principal convents in the Kisruan dis-

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trict. So great a degree of biassed misstatement had gone abroad with respect to this subject, that I consider it right to dwell a little upon the results of *my own* observations. To read Lamartine one would fancy the priesthood, who swarm in these mountains, a stamp of men only equalled by the martyr fathers of the early church, or the anchorite legends of Popish historians. Robinson, too, regards them, and the Syrian clergy generally, in a point of view equally exaggerated, and only to be accounted for by the peculiar tenets which that writer, as well as the former, professes. That such a bias in descriptive narrative should exist, is, to say the least of it, highly discreditable; nor would I thus unhesitatingly affix to them the stigma of prejudice, were it not for the laboured terms of superlative praise in which both the above authorities depict the clergy in question. Had other than such imaginative perfections been de-

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scribed, we might have presumed that the crafty amongst the religious sects had imposed by deceptive appearances upon the credulity of these literary supporters; but the gloss is too universal, the exclusion of facts too evident, to admit of any such excuse being reasonably entertained. Such is my personal opinion respecting much that has been said of the priesthood in Lebanon; points in my individual experience amongst them I have yet to offer in greater detail.

It was after a long day spent with Captain Laué in sketching a plan of the vicinity of the camp of Jouni (then for some time deserted), that, as evening approached, we began to consider to what quarter of the mountain we should proceed for shelter.

Beckfyiah, the Jesuit college of Syria, was to be seen about seven miles in the distance, and thitherward we directed our steps.

The village of Beckfyiah has even a

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greater air of comfort and prosperity than most other villages in this industrious and flourishing district; perhaps a sufficient reason for the choice which "the order" have made in establishing themselves in that particular locality. We had entered the village, and were threading our way through the mulberry plantations that line its paths, when I was accosted in elegant French by an individual who emerged from one of the cottages on seeing us pass. I recognised in the tall and commanding figure of our polite interrogator the Père Rhyllo, chief of the convent whose shelter we were about to seek. He walked by our side to the door of his establishment, when numerous attendants (lower Syrian members of the order) at once took charge of our horses. We were ushered by the father into a spacious saloon, which he termed "the refectory," and amidst its comforts, and the genial odour of preparing viands (for we had luckily timed

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the dinner-hour), not a little congratulated ourselves as to "the soft places" on which we had fallen. I had met the Père Rhyllo, as noticed in the early portion of this work, during his residence with Omar Bey at the outposts of the camp, so that with myself there required not the formality of an introduction. Captain Laué, the picture of a wiry old soldier, carried a sufficient recommendation in his blunt and open countenance to inspire readily a degree of confidence and of ease. Hence, some way or other, our prepossessions being mutual, we gained with the intelligent superior an almost immediate tone of good understanding. The subject of the late war was at once the theme of conversation; and never did the "uncomfortable hour before dinner" pass more swiftly or agreeably away. Rhyllo early launched into a series of military criticisms on the errors, as he termed them, committed on both sides during the late

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combat at Cornichovahn, of which he was a spectator from the windows of his convent. The tone of his observations was so ardent, his strictures so purely of a military and practical character, that it was not long ere he was interrupted by the Captain, who told him he could see that at some portion of his life he had carried a very different garb to the cowl which he then wore. Rhyllo confessed that this surmise was correct; and then still more bitterly did he inveigh upon men and measures, battles and policy, as lately exemplified in Syria. Though the violent tone of these observations much struck me at the time, I was not the less astonished by the acumen and talent of his remarks. But why so severe on these subjects, which, when I had previously seen him, he so very differently expressed himself upon? The riddle will be explained anon.

Dinner was now on the table, and we

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were introduced to seven of the brethren who then entered. They were all Europeans — two French, two Poles, and a German; the next I forget. Never did I see a company of men in whose countenances were expressed more determination of character, blended in several instances with equally strong traces of cunning and hardihood. Conversation, during the meal, was never suffered to flag; I seldom remember to have passed a more agreeable hour. Doubtless that pleasure was enhanced by the abundance and exquisite good quality of the edibles around, and which ordinary experience in Syria, and especially a day in the mountains, could enable a way-worn traveller to enjoy with more than ordinary zest.

Dopo pranzo, the brotherhood again retired, and, with pipes and coffee, we were once more left alone with the superior. It will not be to the purpose to follow farther

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the results of our conversation; but I will dissect a little, as I have promised, the motives of the Jesuit for the severe strictures he before entertained us with.

Rhyllo may take to himself the credit (I never heard him say that he did) of being a main mover in the last popular outbreak of Lebanon. His influence with the peasantry was strengthened by every requisite means, as well of superior and shrewd intelligence as of those higher and undefined religious attributes which he, as a well-instructed Jesuit, knew so well how to employ. He early gained their entire confidence by the strenuous and sanguine manner in which he identified himself with their interests, and in denunciation of the evils of which they complained. It was a judgment such as his, matured by experience, and possessed of those practical abilities most needed in their cause, which could so train those who confided themselves to his guidance as to

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lead them, of their own free will, into steps productive of consequences they did not at the time foresee, but whose ulterior results inevitably identified them with the personal objects which he only had in view. He exclaimed to us, with no small degree of pride, "What chance had the allies in landing upon the coast, if the inhabitants of these mountains had not consented implicitly to embark their fortunes in the same cause, from the very onset of operations? And to whom is such credit due, but to their religious instructors? Had they not combated against prejudices already disseminated, and led them to have equal confidence in the heretic as in the catholic, no prospect, however bright, could have tempted them over to your side!" And these observations, I consider, were strictly correct. At that moment, the Druse and the Maronite for the first time separated from the defence of their common liberty;

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and the Druses were not held more completely blinded under the sway of the Emir, than were the Maronites under the *dixit* of their religious teachers. He dwelt with much satisfaction and high eulogium upon the minute details of several skirmishes and petty *rencontres* which the Maronite peasantry had sustained with the Egyptian soldiery, a month or two previous to the landing at Jouni, when the Eastern question was yet in abeyance. It was not difficult to trace the personal cause of interest which our narrator entertained, in relating, with a flashing eye, scenes in which his own restless and plotting spirit had been a secret but sole director.

After the first of the Maronites joined the allied cause, events, in their natural results, succeeded each so quickly, that I do not believe any power the clergy then possessed could have much influenced the future conduct of the mountaineers. The

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torch had been lit,—the gage accepted,—and quickly did the noble spirit of emulation spread around. The huzza of the old Commodore, pointing the way with his cutlass, had more influence over their excited spirits than all the ghostly exhortations of their clergy. The shrewd intelligence of Mr. Wood, also, soon gained to their side influential men,—new parties were set up to combat, at the price of their own establishment, those who, formerly in power, still sided with the enemy,—and the British arms led the way in daily conquests, whilst every step necessarily insured a greater degree of certain success in the cause which had been embraced. Then it was that Père Rhyllo began to play the last act of that game which his energies had already brought so far forward; but the time was inopportune,—his hour of strength had passed away; hé had to deal with a man not less versed than himself in the *finesse* and tact of

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worldly policy. Rhyllo's claims to reward should have been submitted at a time when he still held within his grasp the *quid pro quo* of the services he required: that such did not occur, was the fault only of circumstances over which he had no control. He demanded, through the British ambassador at Constantinople, certain privileges from the Sultan, for the powerful and permanent establishment of his order in Syria. His existing influence was at first openly put forward, — entreaty succeeded to demands, — every engine of influence was set on foot, — but Rhyllo failed: not one tittle of the hoped-for fruit of his bold schemes was ever realised! So much, then, for the secret motives which influenced the Jesuit father in his censures!

> "Auditum admissi risum teneatis, amici?
> Ridentem dicere verum quid vetat?"

I cannot but regard the establishment of

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the Jesuits in Syria as one fraught with the greatest danger to the best interests of that country. For more than three centuries have the order been denizens in Lebanon, but never until now has the peculiar aim and objects of that anomalous society had any opportunity of action in the destinies and internal government of the country. I look upon Syria at this moment as if it were for the first time starting into existence; all events there seem concentrating towards a degree of political action, which, if realised, cannot but tend to its ultimate organisation as an independent, prosperous, and highly important state. It is this view—one which an attentive observer can hardly fail to arrive at—which influences the present energies of some of the most ambitious and enterprising of the Jesuit sect. They will tell you, Lebanon must yet work a great change in the political condition of the whole of Syria: close observers of men to

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batten alike in their best and in their worst prejudices, they have carefully watched the indomitable sentiments which at length have become perfected in the minds of these mountaineers. The order have already gained a large command of European wealth; and in more than one instance has proof been evident of the secret influence which they have acquired in the most opposite channels of power. When Ibrahim Pacha entered the village of Beckfyiah, which he did some time after the occupation at Jouni, he strictly commanded that not a person within the limits of the Jesuit convent should be molested! Every hamlet that he had before passed was fined—no peasant was spared; and yet this village had been amongst the first that had taken up arms against him. So subtle are the delusions practised by this small but ably selected band!

The professed desire of these men is to

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be charged with the education and direction of the principal youths of the Syrian community. Most cogently do they dwell upon the advantages of education, and the happy results of early acquirements, principles, and habits. It was with this view that the firman from Constantinople was chiefly desired, proving, when the mere authority only was desired, how perfected must have already been their other plans of operation.

I now leave this subject; but I must assure the hospitable "servants of their general," whom I have had to deal with more severely than is suitable to my tastes, that I feel too great an interest in the happy mountains amongst which they have located themselves, not to assist, on every future occasion that may occur, to foil, as far as my humble pen will allow, their well-laid and subtle machinations. It is a duty, in some instances incumbent, to put forward facts and truths at all hazard; the present

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is one in which it seems to me that rule prevails, although I am aware that in so doing I lay myself open to the imputation of engaging in what our neighbours significantly call *une querelle d'Allemand.* It is not improbable I may at a future day revisit Beckfyiah; if so, I promise to tell the public the result of my reception: and more,

> "An there's a hole in a' their coats,
> I' faith I'll prent it!"*

* I was not a little surprised, a few days after the above remarks had been penned, to hear that the Père Rhyllo had lately been removed from Lebanon by *French* influence. That power, it would appear, entertained grounds of suspicion respecting the Jesuit superior; and of so strong a nature as, it was understood, to cause a formal demand to be made to the Pope that Rhyllo should be withdrawn entirely from Syria. My remarks, however, upon that individual, not intended to be personal, are suffered to remain—as tending, I hope, to portray an actual position of facts important to be made known.

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Respecting the other orders of European monastics in Lebanon, the same remarks apply to them all, but in a lesser degree. The Lazarists have some of the wealthiest establishments in the country; but although, like the Jesuits, they have diligently applied themselves to every method of surreptitious influence, they have not the same redeeming qualities of bold intelligence and lofty enterprise.

The Maronite clergy assuredly are the most honest of the religious sects; little, if at all, advanced beyond the ordinary peasant in intellect, their hold is maintained by the blind and fragile tenure of superstitions lost to Europe since the fifteenth century. At the same time they are swayed in a great degree by the sentiments and wants of the majority of the population. That sect, I consider, is so constituted as not to act otherwise than in accordance with the necessities and wishes of their flock,—hence

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are deserving of politic conciliation and attention. Their present over-grown numbers, so burdensome to the community, is an evil which, doubtless, will work its own cure: Lebanon, in her stages of advancement already commenced, will in fitting time rid herself of every undue encumbrance. The peasant, who now is so unwilling to contribute his earnings to enrich a Turkish governor, will not the more be inclined, when the desired concession is obtained, to throw those proceeds into the coffers of the church. We may remember Spain and her *fuerros*.

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CHAPTER IV.

[The author, in consequence of pressing avocations of another kind, finding it impracticable to devote more time to the completion of his Narrative on the Syrian Campaign, has requested a friend, especially qualified from profession and position,—having himself taken an active part in the late war,—to write an additional chapter, embracing the matter relevantly following that already detailed; and the author has great pleasure in availing himself accordingly of the following communication addressed to him from the distinguished officer in question.]

J. U. S. Club, Oct. 1841.

MY DEAR HUNTER,

I HAVE attentively read your very interesting papers relating to the affairs in

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Syria during the late operations against Mehemet Ali; and the correctness with which they are described does great credit to your powers of observation.

You wish me to give you a short sketch of the events preceding the *explosion* which blew up the hopes of the old Albanian tobacco-seller,* and caused him, in despair, to pluck his beard,† silvered as much by the hand of Time as by the accumulated weight of unnumbered crimes,—supposing such a thing as remorse to find existence in his reckless nature. It is, however, but rendering common justice to the old barbarian to state, that if his career has been marked by murder, poison, rapine, and the most un-

* From such an obscure origin arose the modern Nero, Mehemet Ali.

† *Vide* Letter of Colonel Hodges at the end of this chapter.

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bounded tyranny, the finger of scorn and infamy is only fixed on him in preference to many of his Eastern contemporaries, from the more prominent part which his great talents and unbounded energy have enabled him for years to play. Murder, poison, and rapine, are serious charges to bring against a respectable-looking, white-bearded, old gentleman of seventy odd years.

But a few isolated facts, taken from his long catalogue of crimes, may be adduced to prove the accusation *not* groundless, and that Mehemet Ali is fully deserving of the immortality he is so ambitious to acquire: but it should be the immortality of the felon, who, as he swings in chains on the gibbet, is pointed at by the passenger with remembrances of horror and execration. What a splendid monument for such an apotheosis would Pompey's pillar make!

However, lest I should be accused of ca-

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lumniating this great man, who has succeeded in throwing dust into the eyes of so many otherwise intelligent travellers, let us e'en take a peep at a *few* of the facts: it would be an endless task to record all his iniquities.

For the charge of murder we need only look at the massacre of the Mamelukes, perpetrated in cold blood under the most atrocious circumstances: the violation of the rites of hospitality, which in the East is considered the most sacred of obligations. Break bread with the brigand Bedouin, be he your most deadly foe, and it is a pledge of safety and protection: but Mehemet Ali Pacha is not a Bedouin of the desert, but a *Turk* every inch of him; and we know the result of this Mokhanna feast.

"Where some, the bravest, hardiest in the train
Of their false chief — who on the battle plain

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Would have fallen gladly by his side —
Here, mute and *murdered*, gasped; but, as they died,
Shew'd horrible vengeance in their eye's last strain,
And clench'd the slack'ning hand at him in vain."

One victim alone escaped the shambles, leaped the battlements, killed his horse in the fall, and lived to tell at Stamboul the bloody tale.

Then for "poison:" the poor Deftadar, his own son-in-law, the husband of his favourite daughter Zorah, lived not to describe the taste of the sweetened drug, — of Araby's soothing berry; and as the bearded cicerone accompanies the stranger through the Pacha's "family vault" at Cairo, he points to the poor Deftadar's tomb, and *smiling*—yea, smiling—remarks that he was fond of coffee!

Then, all ye advocates for the *mild* government of His Highness, only pay your

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respects to him, as on a balmy day he is smoking his pipe under the spreading acacias which shadow the canal* — the wide grave of so many poor wretches who thus helped to form their own sepulchres,— behold him here seated on his Persian carpets, with old Boghos Bey, the great minister, employed in the laudable occupation of whisking off, like a slave and in most slave-like attitude, the insects which may be attracted by the light of His Highness's countenance.

Cast your ken a little further, and you will see what brightens up his fox-like

* This stupendous undertaking was finished in the course of six months, at the expense, it is said, of the lives of between forty and fifty thousand human beings, who died of starvation, over-labour, and misery; they had no pay, barely food enough to sustain existence, and were not even supplied with the requisite tools to carry on their work.

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physiognomy. See you not those poor half-naked wretches painfully tracking, under the broiling rays of an African sun, the heavily-laden barges which lazily divide the smooth waters beneath them? Those poor wretches, with scarce rags enough to serve the purposes of decency, are Fellahs, his Highness's most happy and fortunate subjects: those heavily-laden barges contain the produce of harvests wrested from the mouths of those subjects, and about to be hoarded in his granaries for foreign exportation, his Highness the sole monopoliser of the same; whilst the poor creatures who watered it with the sweat of their brows think themselves fortunate if, with a little barley-meal or beans, they can keep alive their emaciated and mutilated bodies!*

* In every village in Egypt may be seen numberless examples and victims of the Pacha's tyrannical system

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Such, my good friend, is the real picture of a man whose actions have been lauded by many European travellers. But I will do him the justice to observe, that he probably is not worse than any other of the corrupt and degraded race from which he springs; and I have not heard him stigmatised in his youth with those abominations which are almost invariably the stepping-stones to Mahomedan power — at least, in the favoured regions of the Osmanli.

I have, however, made a long digression; and, so far as my memory serves me, I will now endeavour to trace our movements from the time that the Eastern Question assumed

of conscription; to evade which, the loss of an eye, the front teeth, or fore finger is the usual means resorted to: and it is a common event for mothers thus to mutilate their children, that they may avoid the career of "honour" which would await them in the glorious service of this father of his people—Mehemet Ali.

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so serious an aspect as to induce our government, in 1839, to strengthen the Mediterranean fleet; which reinforcement I accompanied to the mouth of the Dardanelles in August of that year. We here found assembled the united fleets of Great Britain and France; amounting, the former, to ten sail of the line, besides small craft, carrying between seven and eight thousand men, and upwards of nine hundred guns. The latter consisting of eight line-of-battle ships, a couple of larger frigates, and a brig, with seven hundred and forty guns, and a complement of nearly seven thousand men.* If to this be added a small Austrian squadron waiting the course of events at Smyrna, a most formidable armament was in readiness to oppose either the aggression of the Rus-

* A proof of the superior armament of the French ships, as regards the number of their crews.

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sians or of Mehemet Ali—both or either of these contingencies being the likely results of the battle of Nezib and of the defection of the Turkish fleet: which *untoward* event we learned on coming to an anchor at Busseeka Bay; and it gave us boundless scope for conjecture as to what might be the result.

Although Ibrahim Pacha with the Egyptian army had, at the intercession of the French, stopped when within twenty-five days' march of Scutari, yet his future movements were watched with a jealous eye; and any further advance on his part would, in all probability, have been the signal for at least one portion of the fleet to have entered the Dardanelles: in the execution of which project we had our doubts whether it would have been with the concurrence or not of the Turks. But Elphinstone and Duckworth had in former days successfully ran the gauntlet of this formidable range of bat-

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teries, and why should not Stopford follow their footsteps?

These considerations for a time kept us in a constant state of expectation and excitement, and the interesting *locale* where we found ourselves prevented time from hanging heavily on our hands: whilst some roamed over the far-famed plain of Troy, with Homer for a guide, or traced the "silvery" Simoïs to its distant source, in the heights of Gargarus, the cloud-capped Ida; others, of a less classic turn, engaged in a warfare not so terrible, but, maybe, more deadly, than that waged by Achilles and Hector, and in which the slaughter was made manifest by the heavy bags of snipe, teal, and widgeon, which had to bid an eternal adieu to the sedgy marshes bordering old Father Scamander.

These occupations and amusements continued to occupy us for some weeks, when Sir Robert Stopford, who had gone to Con-

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stantinople, sent word, allowing a certain portion of the officers of the fleet to visit the city of the Constantines. I was amongst the fortunate number who engaged in the expedition; but as you have yourself gone through the Dardanelles, skimmed across the Sea of Marmora, and admired all the beauties of the Golden Horn and winding Bosphorus, I will not try your patience by portraying scenery, but will only give you a sketch, as far as my limited sphere of observation enabled me to remark, of the general state of things in the capital, at a moment when it appeared uncertain whether its fate was to be hugged to death in the embrace of the great Northern Bear, overrun with the plague of Egypt, or reduced to ashes by our friendly interposition to prevent either of these impending evils.

The Sultan, Abdul Medjdel, had just succeeded his father, at a crisis when all the energies of the latter were required to sup-

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port the crumbling and tottering remains of a power which had once been the terror of Christendom; but which now saw Franks hovering about its mouldering ruins, like birds of prey fluttering over a victim in the last stage of mortality, whose body and limbs are already mortified and paralysed, and shewing the only remnants of life by the faint throbbings of its heart through the midst of corruption and decay.

The weighty sceptre of the daring Mahmoud was now in the feeble grasp of an effeminate boy of seventeen,—a boy, moreover, enervated in body and mind by the imperfections of an Oriental education, and debased by every species of Oriental vice and excess. And who were the ministers and counsellors of this promising scion of royalty? Old Koshrouf Pacha, and his brother-in-law, Halil the Seraskier: the former, for the last forty years of his life, at the head of every crime which had been

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committed, and every intrigue which had emanated from a court the very focus of corruption and depravity; moreover, well known to have been bought by Russian gold, and further strengthened in this patriotic feeling by the most inveterate personal animosity against Mehemet Ali, — one might almost have been led to imagine that the destroyer of the Janissaries envied the dark deeds of the murderer of the Mamelukes!

Halil Pacha, the Seraskier, or commander-in-chief of the Ottoman army, had married a sister of his sovereign, and in his exalted station the crimes which had originally elevated him were only made more conspicuous. Rapacious in the extreme, addicted to every vice, and void of every talent or virtue, he was the true picture of a "Turkish Pacha."

Such were the men at the helm of the state; and with such pilots, would it be

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matter of surprise if the old rotten hulk, sailing under the name of the "Sublime Porte," should soon be cast on the rocks of destruction?

Pera, the former scene of so much intrigue, had now sunk into comparative obscurity since the removal of diplomacy up the shores of the Bosphorus to the smiling sites of Therapia and Buyukdéré. At the former place Lord Ponsonby, with his usual inveteracy against the Egyptian Pacha, was urging every measure for his destruction, without appearing to apprehend any thing on the part of Russia; whilst Admiral Rousin, the French representative, was advocating the usual diplomacy of his nation in that quarter.

The summer thus passed away, things remaining *in statu quo*, and all hands resting on their oars. The united fleets stopped at Busseeka Bay till the latter end of October 1839, when they took up their winter

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quarters at Vourla and Smyrna, where they remained until the ensuing month of June. Admiral Stopford during this period went to Malta, and was succeeded in the command by Sir John Lewis, who was sent from the latter place to take charge of the fleet, much to the surprise and annoyance of Captain Napier, who happened at the time to be next senior officer,—a proceeding quite contrary to the rules and customs of the service.

On the return of the fine weather in the spring of 1840, the British fleet proceeded once more to Busseeka Bay; but such was the gloomy aspect of affairs in Syria that orders were given to steer towards that coast, at the same time that the Austrian squadron under Admiral Bandiera received directions to co-operate with them in the event of more active proceedings being undertaken.

About this time it became known that

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Mehemet Ali had despatched a large portion of his fleet, with 12,000 men, to Beyrout.

Captain Napier strongly suggested that this force should be intercepted and captured ere it debarked on the Syrian coast. Had this advice been listened to, the subsequent campaign with its attendant miseries would in all probability have been avoided. But the Admiral did not approve of the scheme, and the Egyptians were consequently allowed to proceed unmolested to their destination.

This sketch brings events nearly up to the time you commence your interesting narrative,—when Sir Robert Stopford resumed the command, and was shortly afterwards joined by Sir Charles Smith and a small body of artillery from Gibraltar.

Ill health soon obliged the latter to go to Constantinople, and his absence enabled the Commodore to carry on that short and

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brilliant campaign, which commenced by the landing at Djouni, the armament of the mountaineers, the defeat of the Egyptians at Kornetchouan and Boharsuf, the capture of Sidon, and the final expulsion from Lebanon of the hitherto unvanquished Ibrahim Pacha.

On the return of Sir Charles Smith from Constantinople, Commodore Napier handed over to him the command of the troops, strongly, however, urging an attack upon the Egyptian position at Zahlé, whither Ibrahim had retreated, situated in a gorge on the confines of the Boccah, and which was afterwards found to be quite untenable.

However, Sir Charles, who probably did not approve of the Commodore's unmilitary mode of carrying on operations,*— head-

* The Commodore certainly had recourse in his military operations to strange and novel expedients, but which, nevertheless, always proved successful. At Sidon, one of the gates having to be forced, and

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ing storming parties, running along the roofs of houses, pelting and cudgelling his soldiers when they would not fight — Sir

the storming party being unprovided with the "Ghuzni" battering-ram — a bag of powder, he placed one marine against the gate, directing him to push with all his might, put a second and third to ram him well home, and continued increasing the "man" power until the gate burst from its hinges, and the whole party fell headlong into the town. At another point of attack, seeing a marine in the act of climbing up a wall, he seized him by the nether part of his breeches, pulled him down, and, jumping on his shoulders, converted him into a capital moving scaling-ladder.

At Kornetchouan, the Turks so far excited his indignation by their reluctance to advance, that, losing all patience, he seized a musket, levelled it at one Stambouli who shewed more symptoms of trepidation than the rest, and pulled the trigger; the piece luckily flashing in the pan was taken from him by Colonel Hodges: but the stony nature of the ground supplied him with fresh ammunition, and he fairly pelted before him the brave Turks, who, although they did not (as General Jochmus states in his report of October 12 to Lord Ponsonby) fight exactly as in the time of Soliman the Great, nevertheless gave the Egyptians on that occasion a sound drubbing.

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Charles,—who could not condescend to lend his portly form to such mountebank tricks, thinking, probably, his gallant forces would require breathing-time after being so hardly ridden by the rough old sailor,—quietly seated himself on the carpet of repose, with his writing-desk before him, whilst his staff and troops enjoyed the *dolce far niente* of smoking their pipes quietly at Beyrout for the space of six weeks; during which Ibrahim retreated unmolested across the Boccah and the defiles of the Anti-Libanus, and made himself equally comfortable in the snug winter-quarters of Damascus!

This state of things lasted till Sir Charles Smith was superseded by that fine old soldier Brigadier-General Michell, when affairs again assumed an appearance of activity. The Commodore, who had, in the meantime, gone to Alexandria with six sail of the line, concluded his first convention with

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Mehemet Ali. A compact which was, at the time, so sorely cried down by all the powers that "were;" but which was approved of by the authorities at home and the allied powers, and finally established on very nearly the same basis as that, on account of which so much obloquy had been showered on the head of the "sailor diplomatist."*

My Lord Ponsonby was furious; he had been thwarted in his personal and more than childish inveteracy against Mehemet Ali. Sir Charles Felix Smith had, no doubt, his own warlike anticipations of opening a brilliant campaign in the spring, added, perhaps, to a slight pique against his more fortunate predecessor, who had so far thinned his crop of laurels; *his* plans must, therefore, have been frustrated; Izzut Pacha,—of whom you have made such

* *Vide* Correspondence.

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honourable mention; in rank the first pacha in Syria, as in corruption he surpassed all his worthy coadjutors, and who had been promised the government of Egypt,—was loud in his clamours; and the Admiral, who had, in the first instance, approved of the Convention, but who is an easy man and easily persuaded,—was, no doubt, forced to join in the cry; and induced severely to censure the measure of this second Warwick, the "king-making Commodore."

The old fellow had, on more than one previous occasion, been dubbed with the title of "Pirate;" but now no epithet was too severe, and no gibbet high enough for him. However, to use his own words, as he baled in shovelsful of snuff, "he didn't care a d—n," as he was sure it would be approved of at home; and the result verified his prediction.

General Michell had, unfortunately, not the same powers as his predecessor; but

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although much cramped by his want of authority over the Turks, a forward movement was the immediate signal of his arrival, and the British staff-officers were made to participate in his activity. Major Harvey, 14th Light Dragoons, was sent on a political mission through the country, accompanied by Mr. Wood, to urge every Syrian to rise and harass to the utmost of his power the retreating force of Ibrahim Pacha, who had shewn symptoms of evacuating Damascus. Count Tchecheni, a promising young Austrian officer, was despatched to the Ajeloun hills, to the east of the Jordan, to organise the inhabitants of those mountains. Colonel Napier, who had been sent to Naplouse, received further instructions to guard with 1500 mountaineers the Passes of Ajeloun and the bridge of Mouajumah, over the Jordan, in the event of the Egyptian force taking that direction. Colonels Colquhoun and Alderson visited

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Acre and the towns on the coast. In short, about the end of December, Beyrout presented a scene of bustle and preparation, which shewed that *something* was at last about to be undertaken.

The movements of Ibrahim were still uncertain. General Jochmus, who had now been promoted to the rank of Seraskier, made a dashing *reconnaissance* towards Damascus, and ascertained that the Egyptians had evacuated that place. This intelligence was shortly after corroborated by Colonel Napier, who, accompanied by Capt. Laué and a body of irregular horse, pushed on to Mezerib, across the Ajeloun range, and found that the enemy's intentions were evidently to retire by the Dead Sea.

The Turkish army ought probably, ere this time, to have been concentrated at Beysan or Jennin, at the entrance of the Plain of Esdralon, near the banks of the Jordan; but now that the intentions of

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Ibrahim were evident, their columns following the windings of the coast, took the direction of Jaffa, executing what Jochmus termed a "parallel" movement.

You are, of course, aware of the disastrous advance on Gaza, which was the cause of poor General Michell's death, where Colonel Rose made his chivalrous charge against the "Paynim foe;" and shortly after which, the ratification of the Commodore's convention being known, put an end to hostilities and to the Campaign of Syria.*

* *Vide* Correspondence.

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Extract of an Official Letter from Colonel Hodges to Viscount Palmerston, dated Alexandria, September 20, 1840, *from the Correspondence relative to the Affairs of the Levant.*

I accordingly called on Mehemet Ali this morning at seven o'clock. I found him seated in his divan. By himself and by those about him I was received in the most cold, and almost repulsive, manner. I was evidently a very unwelcome visitor. After a few inquiries as to the Pacha's health, I said that the arrival of the Indian mails at Suez was already telegraphed. The Pacha observed, very carelessly, that he had not known so much. I added that the Indian mails from England and Malta had also reached Alexandria, and I expressed my hope that they would not be molested in this country. The Pacha made no reply, but moved his head slightly.

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I continued to say that I trusted I should obtain the assurance of his Highness for their safety. Mehemet Ali replied, "I have no assurances to give you." At this I expressed some surprise and concern, and the Pacha went on to say, "The Powers, calling themselves civilised, have adopted measures which, perhaps, may force me to imitate their example." I said that I did not well understand his meaning. He continued, "Others have no faults with me; their declarations are not to be depended upon." I told him that if his allusion was to Great Britain, I could not accept the remark. The Pacha, with one of the sardonic laughs not unusual to him, replied, "You may take it or leave it; but my remark is in the mouth of every one." I said, "Perhaps of every one in Alexandria." The Pacha averted his head, and, with an impatient toss of his hand, rejoined, "Of every one—of every one!"

On this I informed the Pacha that his answers would decide me to prevent the mails from landing. The expression of this resolution evidently had its effect, the cause of which I was soon able to ascertain. It consisted in there being French

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mails on board, which, as I knew from the French Consul-general, were anxiously expected by the Pacha's friends. After the exchange of a few more uneasy expressions, I again put the question whether the mails might pass or not. Mehemet Ali reflected a few seconds, and then, making a swinging-forward gesture of his hand, he replied, "Let them proceed." On my asking distinctly whether they would be safe in their passage, the Pacha said, "Yes, for this time only."

On my observing that, from the Pacha's tone, I considered it unavailing to enter into general political conversation, the Pacha made an abrupt reply, to the effect that I had already had my answer.

In the course of our conversation, the answers of Mehemet Ali were short, cold, and harsh, without being precisely uncourteous. He received every remark which did not absolutely require notice with perfect silence, or, at most, with a slight wave of the hand.

The tone of Mehemet Ali was tranquil, but severe. One could only trace any thing like

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excitement in his occasionally *pulling through his fingers tufts of his white beard*, and taking with a little violence frequent and very large pinches of snuff. His demeanour was that of a man profoundly incensed, and who has resolved on some energetic course, &c. &c.

NOTE.

The Commodore's diplomatic proceedings with Mehemet Ali, and his successful endeavours to protect him from the ungenerous, overbearing, and dishonourable conduct of the Turks after the signature of the convention, gave rise to some angry correspondence between Sir Charles Napier and Lord Ponsonby.

Sir Charles Napier's conduct, however, whether military, naval, or diplomatic, will bear the searching glance of inquiry. Previous to his final departure from Alexandria, Boghos Bey, in the name of the Pacha, offered him a gold snuff-

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box, splendidly set in brilliants. The old veteran's answer was characteristic: "It is not," said he, "the custom for British officers to take presents; besides," added he, "the last time I visited the Pacha, he never had the civility to offer me a pipe, and I wish therefore to have nothing to say to him."

The articles of Commodore Napier's convention were all immediately executed by the Egyptian government, with the exception of the promise to restore the Syrian soldiers who had accompanied the Egyptian forces in their retreat across the desert. As Mehemet Ali shewed some delay or reluctance to fulfil this part of his engagements, Colonel Napier was sent on a special mission to Alexandria to have it carried into effect; and we have just heard of the Colonel's success in accompanying to Beyrout the first detachment of these Syrians, to the number of 11 or 1200 men.

Promotions and honours have been dealt with a liberal hand to the naval part of the Syrian expedition, and it is to be hoped that although there was less "hard fighting" on shore, their military

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brethren will not be entirely overlooked; particularly when it is taken into consideration how their numbers have been thinned by exposure on that unhealthy coast. As a proof of this may be adduced the rather unusual circumstance in our military annals of the rapid succession of *six* commanding officers to the small force there, in the short space of ten months.

The casualties so occurring are as follows:—Lieutenant-General Sir Charles Smith, retired in ill health; Brigadier-General Michell, dead of exposure and fatigue; Colonel Bridgeman, dead; Colonel Walker, R.M. dead; Colonel Rose, on succeeding to the appointment of Consul-General in Syria, gave over the command to the next senior officer, Colonel Colquhoun, who, in common with most of the staff, have been sufferers from diseases peculiar to the climate, and which carried off Major Boccochampi, and obliged two or three others to return to England on sick certificates.

As yet, Major Higgins of the Royal Artillery is the only officer who has been rewarded by the brevet rank of Lieutenant-Colonel. Colonel

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Rose's appointment as Consul-General, being quite a civil appointment, had no relation to his gallant conduct at Medjdel in the advance to Gaza.

Lieutenant Loring, R.N. was promoted to the rank of Commander for bearing the despatch to Ibrahim Pacha, acquainting him with the conclusion of peace; in which mission he was associated with Major Wilbraham, who of course has equal claims to advancement; whilst Colonel Alderson, Colonel Napier, and Major Harvey, were all arduously engaged during the campaign, and will no doubt, with the rest of the staff, receive some mark of approbation from the British and Turkish governments.

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CHAPTER V.

THE AUTHOR'S OBSERVATIONS ON THE POLITICAL CONDITION OF SYRIA — FEATURES OF INTRIGUE — COMMERCIAL CAPABILITIES.

In conclusion, I will add a few general observations upon the condition of Syria at the termination of naval proceedings. It may be permitted me, for that purpose, to offer a portion of two letters addressed by myself to the "Chronicle" newspaper, written from Beyrout immediately before leaving Syria.

* * * * *

"I shall turn for a moment to the consideration of the following question:—'Has

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Syria bettered in her prospects by the late apparent success of our efforts towards bringing back again the government of the Turks?'

"It is to be remarked, that Syria has never, under any of her Turkish rulers, enjoyed what may be termed 'a paternal government.' The Mussulman has ever been to her an oppressor. At the same time there is a distinction to be drawn between the last of the two dynasties of Turks whom events have placed over her. The Stamboline was a barbarian tyrant—the Alexandrian a civilised one; but the former was of the two the least onerous. The former exacted only the apparent wealth of the country; whilst, with the latter, every refinement of extortion which an evil enlightenment could teach, was brought into operation.

"The impositions of Mehemet began in Syria in 1832, when he established a mono-

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poly of the silk produce. As is well known, he forbade the sale of that article except to his own hand, and fixed the scale of his purchases at 20 per cent below the previously estimated market value. This system continued effectively for three years, when it was put a stop to by remonstrance, I believe, on the part of the British government. He next raised a poll-tax upon males in Syria, numbering all above fourteen years of age, and averaging 100 piastres (1*l.*) per head. By this means 200,000*l.* was annually drawn from the country. This tax, it is to be remarked, bore upon the Christians independently of a former one of from 20 to 60 piastres, which each individual paid according to his rank, as formerly imposed by the Turks; so that an additional 200,000*l.* was thus gained from the Christians. Another of the impositions of Mehemet was a tax of 5 piastres upon every olive-tree, in lieu of the 30 paras

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before established—an increase of five times the amount. To crown all, with an impoverished country and a ruined credit, he became a lender of money on terms of 22 per cent annual interest to those who could give an adequate tangible security. At this moment he has large sums of money lent out in Syria at that rate of interest.

"Mehemet Ali Pacha put the finishing stroke to a long course of exaction over this suffering country. It now raises no grain, but depends upon the northward for supplies; its olive trade is gone; the amount of its silk has decreased; its former commerce with Egypt, such as it was, is broken up; and, in short, misery, disease, and poverty, reign over the land. Will the Stamboline Turks, then, ameliorate this condition of things? The only response seems to be, that unless salutary laws and institutions, for the effective operation of which the British government will become

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the guarantee, are made a well-defined part of our settlement of the Turco-Egyptian question, little if any benefit will accrue to Syria from the advent of her new rulers.

"I regret deeply to say that I have witnessed of late in Syria much to be reprobated in the conduct of its Turkish occupants—much of that spirit of intolerance which distinguishes the Mussulman towards the Christian—of oppression which the Turk is wont to exercise towards those of an opposite creed who may unfortunately fall into his power. An advocate, as I have been, in another independent and influential journal, for the proper support of the Ottoman empire, and holding still the same opinions, I do not make these assertions without strong and sufficient grounds.

"But to the internal and political condition of Syria I propose on another occasion to return more fully. Here only let me disclaim party bias as influencing in any

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degree the details or observations which I may make. I can in this light, with due conscience, apply to party the lines which the poet has put into the mouth of Dido in addressing her guests :—

' *Tros Tyriusque* mihi nullo discrimine agetur.'

" Φ."

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" Affairs of Syria having favourably terminated, and the legitimate object of the Allied Powers being now achieved, it appears to me a fitting season for the consideration of several points connected, abstractedly, with the internal condition and future well-being of the country.

" How is Syria to be governed? If, as we must presume, she will be included in the broad enactments of Gulhané and its dependent tariffs and treaties, how far can that scheme be carried successfully into

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execution? To an attentive observer of the constituted nature of popular force in Syria, it will be seen that the stability of the Turkish government in the country depends much upon the successful issue of this question—a matter, then, of the first importance.

"The best-informed agree as to the general adaptation of the hatti scherriff to the mercantile necessities of the country, that is to say, if its essential enactments can effectively be brought into operation. As regards the native Syrian, he has no reliance in such a consummation. He dreads the bad faith which has been so often manifested by unchecked Turkish administrators, distant from the seat of home government, and will tell you that it cannot be expected from such men, that they shall so completely reverse their former principles of conduct as to act upon the purely honest regulations of the new code. There the sad experience

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of misrule has taught where at once to detect the greatest obstacle; for it is only under the strenuous exertions of purely honest and enlightened governors that the healthful operation of that scheme can be expected. Another difficulty of an opposite nature presents itself, in the fact that governors proceeding from Constantinople are almost invariably unable to communicate personally, except in Turkish; in very few instances have they any acquaintance with the Arabic, the universal and only language of Syria. If the dragoman system entails the evils which it does when employed even partly by Europeans, its effects may be readily imagined when confined wholly betwixt Orientals. The renegade adventurer whose necessities alone direct his acquirements, or the native intriguer, *par excellence*, is thus generally the only intermediary. Unless the men appointed at Constantinople to posts in Syria can be

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recommended, not by personal interest, but, if possible, by guaranteed assurances of their probity and acquirements, little benefit can accrue by the mere nominal introduction of sound institutions.

"I have mentioned above the term popular force in Syria, and it is one deserving of explanation. I must premise that, during the course of late events, my wanderings have led me very generally over the country. I have visited every town on the sea-coast from Tripoli to Jaffa, and inland from Baalbec to Chalil, on Mount Hebron; whilst, in the same period, I have traversed the whole of the Lebanon, Naplousian, and Adgelloun ranges. My sphere of observation consequently has been sufficiently extended. In that time I have been induced to consider that, in viewing the Syrian nation, we should form two distinctive divisions, viz. the people of the mountain, and the people of the plain,—classes opposed to each other in

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character and in sentiment; related only in language and in a community of interests. The inhabitants of towns may be regarded as belonging to the latter class; of a manufacturing, mercantile, or dependent form of life, and surrounded with a garrison of foreign troops, they are, for the most part, passive in the hands of their rulers. Any restrictions on commerce do not singly affect them, for they are not producers. Again, the majority, of any influence, are either foreign merchants, or have managed to obtain foreign protection, and upon such the under class of merchants are in a great degree dependent. Under any state of government, then, it is in the towns that is found the greatest degree of tranquillity. Equally quiescent and dependent are the scattered inhabitants of the plains and of the lower ranges of hilly country—a population exposed to military operations, with but few wants; inured to misery and a hard

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lot, they are of a stamp perfectly debased and unexcitable. It is amongst the inhabitants of the detached chains of mountains alone that any sentiment of spirit and independence can be found. Of these the Lebanon is the principal, and by far the most important; after which, perhaps, the mountains of the Adgelloun district. The inhabitants of the Houran might also be mentioned, except that the inter-communication between them and the rest of Syria is much less considerable, and that being a peculiar class they are hardly to be added in the same category. Those of Lebanon are distinguished from all others by their frugal and laborious habits, their domestic morals, and the high tone of their independent sentiment. Lebanon to this day, in the nature and extent of its cultivation, fully sustains the rich similes of Scripture expression. In moral strength, as in local position, it may justly be termed the fortress

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of Syria. The importance of its inhabitants was fully estimated by Ibrahim Pacha; for, even after the secession of the former Emir Beschir, he held out to them almost unlimited offers if they would but maintain a neutrality. This people may be looked upon as the guardians of the liberties of the country; ever ready to contest their rights, their connexion with the rest of Syria in the interchange of produce is such as to make them immediate participators in the benefits or evils of the general government.

"To return for a moment to the subject, more particularly of Syrian commerce. Dr. Bowring, in his report upon this country, has remarked 'Exportation is the great desideratum for the extension of Syrian trade.' Give this country but a fair opportunity of competing with other markets of the Levant, and from that day it must establish itself as one of the most important out of Europe. Volney but faithfully depicted Syria when

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he described it as 'a land of almost unparalleled natural resources, comprising within its limits every estimable variety of climate and of soil.' Yet Syria is almost the lowest in the scale of nations, although, even in the present state of things, she produces silk, cotton, and wool,—three staple articles of British demand! The silk of Lebanon is already raised in great abundance and of good quality: the cotton of the north of Syria, although at present inferior to that of Asia Minor, might, from the great adaptation of the climate and soil for its production, be readily brought forward and improved: the wool, now confined to the Arab and Turcoman tribes, is only objectionable because of the little care which is taken in its assortment. Presuming that a fostering government will be exercised in Syria, the next barrier against its advancement is the scantiness of its inhabitants. The immense extent of country capable of

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the highest degree of cultivation, but which is now lying waste and unproductive, is the prominent feature which presents itself to an attentive traveller. Even along the banks of the Jordan are tracts which, untrodden except by the wandering Bedouin, might in a few years support nearly the present population of the country. It is to be presumed that, were grants to be made to qualified persons for a period of years, of those and many other waste lands, it might be the best means of effecting their restoration. For many years past, it has not appeared that the Syrian population have made any sensible increase, whereas the latter means would necessarily tend to that effect.

"The opportunities which exist in Syria for the further introduction of British manufactures are deserving of attention. The amount at present imported, which find their way from Italy more especially, is a

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sufficient criterion of the demand which has established itself. A change has been brought about during the last few years in the external features of Oriental dress, and in Syria more especially, which, with the continued decline of their own manufactures, has tended to introduce the cheaper fabrics of Europe. The establishment, some years ago, of five considerable British houses, has served materially to increase the demand; and there is little doubt but that a further intercourse would operate still more effectually in the same manner. The supply of long English domestic cloth to Aleppo and Damascus is already very considerable. And there is yet another main article of English export, which, with any increase of prosperity in the country, would necessarily have greater demand—the cotton twist. Their own material, unless prepared in Britain, is far too coarse for their finer manufactures.

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Their *sooratty* tissues, an admixture of fine cotton and silk, which have already found their way throughout most of the Eastern markets, are a class of goods solely dependent upon the primary supply from England of the cotton twist.

Whilst the advantages of peace, so rare to Syria, would seem about to dawn upon the country, her horizon is at the same time not without other phases of a far less favourable aspect; features which may be doubtless regarded as distant effects of the hostile compacts which are now rumoured from Europe. France is not idle in the field. Her former consul in Beyrout, whom not a year ago she saw fit to remove from his post, because his sentiments were of a character too ambitious for the views which she then professed towards Egypt, is now about to be reinstated. The protective prerogative which France retains, by ancient treaties with the Porte, over the Roman

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Catholic communities of Syria, is an engine of power which it has lately been her peculiar study to employ. That important sect, the Maronite Catholics, who compose the bulk of the inhabitants of Lebanon, are always, to a great extent, under the guidance of their spiritual advisers; and although in the late popular outbreak France found that they were unheeding of her directions, the fact is attributable in a great degree to the dissatisfaction which had at the same time extended itself amongst their clergy. One of the first ecclesiastical authorities in this country used to me the following expression with respect to the Maronites — 'These people are like very lambs under our guidance; not in Rome itself are to be found such devoted servants of the church.' That such a class will remain an open instrument in the hands of the power who is the guardian of their privileges is at once evident. Nor is Russia, who has no interests, no

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shipping, no subjects here to guard, the less employed. To her consular agent she has assigned functions which are ostensibly more also of a religious than of a political caste. His work is with the dogmas and schisms of sects, not the support of political independence; in fact, an original *rôle* amongst even the varied characters of Russian diplomacy. To render intelligible that design it is necessary to explain that, besides a large amount of Syrians who profess the tenets of the purely Greek Church, there are others, far more numerous, who, based on the Greek, have made various approaches towards that of the Roman Catholic form of creed. All regard the Russian Emperor, to a certain extent, in the light in which the members of his church are taught to do; but, as may be supposed, the farther they are removed from his fold, the more lukewarm are they towards his service. To collect, therefore, again together the many stragglers from the

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Russian pale, and to unite them, if possible, under one tutelage, seems at present the grand labour of northern policy in Syria. A Russian agent is too well instructed to make mere distinctive shades of credence an object of embarrassment; and it is only upon the broad principles of Greek relationship that assistance to the Russian cause is inculcated. Short as has been the period during which travelling in the country has lately been practicable, the agent of that power has visited the head of every sect of Greek shade from Tripoli to Jerusalem.

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CORRESPONDENCE,

OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS,

&c. &c.

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CORRESPONDENCE,

&c. &c.

THE observations I have applied to the Commodore's despatches, as my grounds for not following implicitly their statements—namely, the excusable haste of their composition (burdened as he was with the manifold direction of land affairs)—is not to be applied with regard to another addressed by General Jochmus to Lord Ponsonby, which it is also necessary to quote, and upon which I have no other comment to offer, than that I differ with its view of many facts, and with all its conclusions. General Jochmus, although as brave and dashing an officer as could be found in any service, has, for my taste, too evident a vein of *pre-judgment* in favour of "the descendants of Solyman."

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DESPATCH FROM GENERAL JOCHMUS TO VISCOUNT PONSONBY.

Head Quarters, October 12, 1840, 6 A.M.

My Lord,—I had the honour to inform your Lordship of the causes and the event of the dispersion of Osman Pacha's corps.

Ibrahim Pacha having continued since, and notwithstanding the reverse, his system of dividing his forces, in order to cover more ground, against the projected armaments of the mountaineers, we have persisted, on our side, to take advantage of his mistakes.

On the 8th of October, in the afternoon, I occupied the heights of Ardali (where the action of the 24th of September had been fought), and the village of Ornachajuen, without opposition, with a force of four battalions.

During the following night, about 300 armed peasants joined, and I made, early on the 9th, a *reconnaissance* on my left, to ascertain the nature of the ground. A skirmish ensued, and the enemy shewed about 1500 men, under Hassan Bey and Emir Massoud, on the opposite heights of Calat-Meidan.

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Commodore Napier and Selim Pacha coming to the heights of Ardali on the 9th, resolved to drive the enemy from his position, in order to facilitate the operations of Emir Beschir Kasim, who, having been proclaimed governing prince in lieu of the old Emir Beschir, had been directed to cross the Kelb Sou, and to enter the provinces above Beyrout; for which purpose he had collected a force of mountaineers, and had been provided with 1100 muskets for distribution, the last remaining.

The ultimate object of the operation was eventually the taking of Beyrout, whither Admiral Stopford had gone with part of the squadron.

The position of the enemy at Calat-Meidan, however, was of prodigious natural strength, being covered by a deep ravine, and presenting three successive lines of entrenchments; the elevation of the position, from the depth of the ravine to the highest redoubt, being, perhaps, 1000 yards, and in many parts the rocks were nearly perpendicular.

Commodore Napier, with the double view of saving a great loss of life on our part and of obtaining a greater result of victory, directed me

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to order Omer Bey, who, with five battalions, had been left in our position above Djounie, to march with two of them to Ageltun, there to cross the Kelb Sou, and to fall on the enemy in his flank and rear. The Emir Beschir received similar orders.

Shortly afterwards, and during the evening of the 9th, we ascertained that Ibrahim Pacha, in person, had arrived at Calat-Meidan, with 2000 of his best troops—namely, 1200 Albanian body-guards, and 800 of what is called his regular guard.

Perceiving, finally, his fault, this General had ordered four battalions of Solyman Pacha to join him also, and 2000 more men were approaching from Zahlé, in order to be concentrated in our front.

Not a moment was to be lost.

The Commodore ordered up to the heights of Ardali the three remaining battalions from Djounie, and two Turkish field-pieces.

At 2 o'clock, on the 10th of October, we had seven battalions at Ardali, when the fire of Omer Bey, approaching by the road of Beckfuya, was distictly heard in the enemy's rear.

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The following dispositions were then taken for an immediate attack.

One battalion and the mountaineers were directed to cross the ravine, which separated us from the enemy, and to arrive on his line of retreat by the road to Brumana.

Four battalions stormed the heights of Calat-Meidan, two *en tirailleurs*, supported by two others, in closer order, moving by the road.

Two battalions, reserves on the heights of Ardali.

After two hours' fighting, and the display of the most daring gallantry on the part of the Turks, for the *élite* troops of the hitherto unvanquished Ibrahim Pacha also stood manfully to their post, strongly fortified, and facing both attacks, we joined Omer Bey on the heights of Calat-Meidan.

The enemy's three lines of retreat being occupied by our respective corps—namely, the road to Brumana by our column, and the roads to Beckfuya and Corneil by Omer Bey, Ibrahim's forces were thrown into the gorge, not twenty-five men of any of his corps remaining together at sunset, and he himself escaping with difficulty, accompanied by a few horsemen.

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Eight hundred prisoners, all his stores and ammunition, &c. &c. fell into our hands; a great many more troops will disperse to their houses, or be pursued by the Emir Beschir Kasim, who arrived at sunset within three hours' distance from the field of battle, and communicated to the Commodore that he was then observing the 2000 men approaching to Ibrahim Pacha's support from Zahlé.

Our success has been complete. The Turkish troops fought as they did in the times of Solyman the Great.

I have, &c.

(Signed) A. Jochmus, Lieut.-Gen.

PLANS OF IBRAHIM PACHA.

Extract from a Report by M. Laurin, one of the European Agents in Syria, on the result of a Conversation with the old Emir Beschir relative to the ulterior Plans of Ibrahîm Pacha.

The plan had been formed of invading Anatolia with 30,000 regular troops, and as many Bachi-Bozuks, Hanadi, and Bedouins. But Me-

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hemet Ali was not decided himself as to the time for the execution of this plan. On the one hand, he hoped for an amicable arrangement of his business, and the mediation of France; on the other hand, he feared the appearance of a Russian army. At a later period, reinforcements from Egypt were promised. But when the insurrection of the Maronites broke out, the plan of invasion was necessarily abandoned; the more so, because the chiefs of districts in Anatolia, with whom Mehemet Ali had had an understanding, had for the most part been dismissed and replaced by unknown persons.

Besides, the requisite funds were delayed, and the Bachi-Bozuks demanded, in a menacing tone, payment of their arrears. The army had many sick, few medical men, and scarcely sufficient clothing. Up to the beginning of February the regular army was still 90,000 men strong; but it has been so weakened by desertions and by deaths, that at present there cannot be more than two-thirds of that number. Since the disembarkation of the Allies at Djounie, the Egyptians have lost above 17,000 men, and an equal number are ready to disband themselves as soon as the army shall advance.

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Ibrahim Pacha has twelve regiments of cavalry, four regiments of artillery, and three regiments of infantry disposable, and on which he can depend. But these can only be employed in the plain. The rest of the army is stationary, and cannot stir without risking the possession of Syria. Thus the 4000 men who form the garrison of St. Jean d'Acre, the 800 who are at Ascalon, and the 1400 who are in the neighbourhood of Gaza, Jaffa, and Caiffa, cannot be displaced without hazarding the safety of those places. It is the same case with the 3000 men of Tripoli and of Latakia. In those places the people would immediately rise in insurrection. The same thing would happen if only a part of the 7000 men, at present at Antioch, should be recalled. Killis and Aintab, Tarsus, Adana, Marash, and Albistan, do not reckon more than 8000 men, who have enough to do to guard the frontier and the forts of Kulek Boghas and of Beilan. The garrisons of Homs, Aleppo, and Hamah, are only 6000 men strong; and Ibrahim Pacha has himself admitted that they are insufficient. At Damascus there are only one regiment of artillery and four companies of Baltadgis. But between Baalbec and Zahlé, at the village of Malaca,

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Ibrahim Pacha is encamped with 6000 men and seven field-guns behind a ditch.

Consequently, if the Allies choose to confine themselves to the mountain war, they will, besides the garrisons, only have to contend with the army of Malaca. If they go down into the plain of Baalbec, they will find there the cavalry, the artillery, and the three regiments of infantry.

Among the troops hitherto mentioned are not comprised the from 12,000 to 15,000 men stationed at Orfa, and whom Mehemet Ali pushed forward with the object of sooner reaching Diarbekir in case of his invading Anatolia.

The Emir Beschir thinks that this army, composed for the most part of irregular troops, might, without inconvenience, be withdrawn, and united to the aforesaid army of Baalbec. They would then offer an effective force of from 20,000 to 22,000 men. But it would be possible to gain the mastery over them in the following way:—

According to Ibrahim's plan, this army should receive from Damascus its military stores, its provisions, and all its other equipments. It would be ruined as soon as its communications with the said city should be cut off, which could

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be done by throwing on its rear the Druses of the Haouran, of Hasbeya, and of Rahachié, who are ready to rise.

Ibrahim Pacha would then only fight to gain the high-road from Damascus to Gonetra and St. Jean d'Acre. He ought not to be stopped, but to be pursued; and his retreat should not be cut off except at Ascalon and Gaza, where he could not arrive otherwise than in a very weak state. This pursuit might with perfect safety be confided to the insurgents, whom he (the Emir) undertook to organise and to lead. The most influential chiefs of the Haouran, of the Anti-Libanus, and of Naplous, have, he says, made to him the most acceptable offers. He has only to summon them to rise, and they will obey his call.

As regards the garrisons, they will submit in succession to the Sultan after the expulsion of Ibrahim Pacha; and in this manner much blood and store would be spared.

The Emir was not able to tell us whether or no the magazines were in good condition.

He thought that the army was provisioned for four months, but only with bread, beans, and lentils.

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They conveyed to St. Jean d'Acre, continued the Emir, the corn which they carried off without payment from the peasants of Judæa, immediately after the revolt. There are considerable stores of corn at Damascus, but not of good quality.

The army is not paid, and has no clothing for the season which is coming on. The spirit with which it is animated is that of slaves; the fear of corporal punishment, and the impossibility of escaping, cause them to remain with their standards. The chiefs of the army are submissive, but not devoted to Ibrahim. The troops are on a very bad footing with the natives. The aversion is reciprocal, and increases daily. A general revolt will be the consequence of so violent a state of things.

In the course of the conversation the Emir also said to me what follows:—Mehemet Ali was desirous of conquering Turkey. He could have done so; for God had given him abundance of means. But he could only have effected it by a just and humane administration. Now, he paid so little attention to this, that the Syrians have never been in a more frightful situation than for

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the last three years. There was neither justice, nor protection, nor security, in any quarter. The peasants of the plain were plundered by the soldiers and by the civil officers, first of their harvest, then of their cattle; after that they were driven into the mountains. It is from those mountains that they now threaten to descend to take a cruel vengeance on their oppressors.

Return of Ordnance, Ammunition, Stores, Small Arms, Provisions, &c. seized in Beyrout, on the Morning of the 10th instant.

DESCRIPTION OF GUNS AND STORES.	
Medium Iron Guns, 31, dismounted on the walls.	
Carronades 4, ditto ditto.	
Ammunition, small arms	126,000
Small arms (unserviceable) taken from the mountaineers on the first insurrection	3,000 stand.
Rice, Wheat, and Bread, for three or four days.	
Common Case, 24-pounders, filled with iron balls.....	932 rounds.
Ditto, 18 ditto.....	48
Ditto, 9 ditto.....	296
Ditto, 6 ditto.....	587

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Round shot, 24 and 12-pounders ..	200
Fuzes, common	200
Port-fires	24
Slow match, Skeins	18
Paper, ball cartridge	3 reams.
Flints, musquet	500

T. GORDON HIGGINS,
Major Commanding Royal Artillery.

EXTRACT FROM AN OFFICIAL LETTER.

Viscount Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston.

Therapia, October 18, 1840.

My Lord,

* * * * *

What has been done in Syria by Commodore Napier, by General Jochmus, and by Captain Walker, and the brave men under their command, has destroyed the spell of Mehemet Ali's fortune, and shews that Ibrahim's boasted skill and valour are nothing when met by such men as those above named. The Turkish soldiers, heretofore cowed by defeats, due to the ignorance of their generals, are now said to be elated with

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a just confidence in themselves under able commanders, and have shewn that valour for which their nation has been formerly so highly celebrated.

It will not be the fault of the soldiers hereafter, if Syria and Egypt be not restored to the possession of their legitimate sovereign.

I have, &c.

(Signed) PONSONBY.

LETTER FROM THE BRITISH CONSUL AT ALEXANDRIA.

Mr. Consul Larking to Viscount Palmerston.

Alexandria, October 6, 1840.

My Lord,—I have the honour to acquaint your Lordship that on the 26th ultimo Colonel Galisse, a French officer of engineers, arrived here by a government steamer from Toulon; he immediately inspected all the fortifications in the city and along the coast, and is now preparing plans for a comprehensive scheme of defence, including

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the erection of batteries at Aboukir, and at the new or eastern harbour, as well as the refortification of the heights which formed the French lines during the invasion of 1801.

Great discontent prevails amongst the Turks on board the fleet, in consequence of the substitution of Arab for Turkish officers; this dissatisfaction often borders on mutiny; and a report is current that it is in agitation to send them to garrison the city of Cairo.

M. de Weimer, said to be the newly-appointed French Consul-General for Bagdad, has arrived here on his way to that city, and has had repeated conferences with Mehemet Ali.

I have, &c.

(Signed) JOHN W. LARKING.

" CONSIDÉRATIONS."

Viscount Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston.

(EXTRACT.)

Therapia, November 8, 1840.

The inclosed paper, entitled " Considérations," &c. was sent to me for my opinion upon the

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advice given therein to the Sublime Porte with respect to Candia. I gave my approbation to it, with the exception of the proposed grant for life of the Pachalic. Her Majesty's Government have always most justly attached great value to the possession of Candia by the Sublime Porte.

I have recommended the strict execution of the Hatti Sheriff of Gulhané in the island.

(TRANSLATION.—EXTRACT.)

November 4, 1840.

The Convention of the 15th of July having taken away the government of the island of Candia from Mehemet Ali, the Porte thus finds itself now called upon to direct its attention to the means of firmly establishing its authority in that island; and I have no hesitation in asserting that the principal—the only chance indeed, of securing to it the tranquil possession of the island, rests upon the choice of the governor who is to be sent there. Candia does not bear a resemblance to any other dependency of the Ottoman empire. Geographically, that island is placed in a singular position. The population, which is estimated at

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180,000 inhabitants, reckons 150,000 Greeks and 30,000 Turks only; the latter, masters of the fortresses, and of the greater part of the level country, thus have at their disposal the main resources of the island. The Greeks, less rich, but more numerous, and protected by their mountains, acknowledge with reluctance the supremacy of the Turks; thus they have never neglected an opportunity of endeavouring to escape from it. To these natural causes of rivalry between these two portions of the nation, must be added the remembrance of the tyranny which the Turks exercised in former years over the Greek inhabitants. Nowhere, perhaps, it must be admitted, have the Greeks had to suffer harder oppression. The Greek revolution offered them an opportunity of revenging themselves, and they profited fully thereby: that unhappy period was marked by horrible cruelties in Candia, and those cruelties contributed to render still deeper the mutual hatred of the rival nations.

But the Greek revolution awakened in the Christian population of the island another feeling, still more dangerous to the authority of the Porte—the desire for independence. The inter-

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vention of the Powers could alone prevent this island from escaping from the Ottoman dominion; but the Greeks, in submitting to the decisions of the cabinets, did not relinquish the hope of emancipating themselves some day from that dominion; the proximity and the continual incitement of Greece contribute only too much to strengthen them in that hope.

It was principally with this danger in view that the Porte decided, in 1826, upon intrusting Candia to the government of Mehemet Ali; and for many years the Pacha was obliged to maintain a force there of from 8000 to 9000 men, in order to keep it in subjection. It was at that time that he sent Mustapha Pacha there, first as Commander of the troops, afterwards as Governor-General of the island. By the vigour of his administration, Mustapha Pacha succeeded in controlling all parties. The Turkish population, up to that time enjoying despotic power, was subjected to a regular system of government; and the Greeks, restrained by fear, and at the same time protected against the oppression of the native Mussulmans, were less disposed to listen to the instigations of their co-religionists in Greece. The island was

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thus enabled to enjoy a tranquillity which it had not known under the delegates of the Porte.

Mustapha Pacha, who already possessed on his arrival in the island a considerable fortune, purchased large estates there, which increased his influence and still more the attachment of the country. Riches enabling him to forego exactions, he was able himself to give an example of a just administration, and thus to gain the affection and confidence of the people. In fact, there is but one opinion with respect to him, and all the world agrees in recognising in him the qualities of a good governor. Moreover, being an avowed friend to civilisation, and divested of every prejudice, he does not allow himself to be in the least influenced by religious antipathies, or by views proceeding from an exclusive feeling. Therefore the news of his confirmation by the Porte was received with ecstasy by all the rational part of the population; it only vexed those who hoped to find in a change the opportunity of accomplishing their criminal designs. But while he shews himself disposed to make his submission to the Sultan, Mustapha Pacha has expressed a desire to obtain the government of the island for life. If

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this demand is considered as a condition imposed by Mustapha Pacha, it will with justice appear absurd; but, in the first place, it is not in this point of view that it must be considered.

Mustapha Pacha is ready to deliver up the island upon the simple command of the Sultan: he would only wish that to the favour of his confirmation might be added that of his appointment for life, not only for the sake of his own prospects, but also for that of the tranquillity of the island, in which he must necessarily be interested as a large proprietor. In fact, if he were only appointed Governor of Candia upon the same footing as the other Pachas, that is to say, with the prospect of being removed perhaps a year afterwards, the minds of the people, quieted for the moment, will not wholly relinquish the hope of carrying into effect at a later moment their interested designs; the Turks on the one hand, the Greeks on the other, will silently prepare to take advantage of the first change, in order to renew their attempts, and public confidence will be always in alarm. If, on the contrary, Mustapha Pacha is appointed for life, the parties, already accustomed to his administration and swayed by the ascen-

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dancy which he has gained over them, will submit in silence, and the Sublime Porte will thus be freed from the embarrassments and difficulties which fresh intrigues in the island would bring upon it.

The chief object of the Porte is, to consider the means of securing its authority, and of guaranteeing it both against intrigues and against external attacks. If Mustapha Pacha can fulfil this twofold duty, why not facilitate to him the means of doing so? Certainly it will not be feared that ambition will lead him to take advantage of the concession of the Porte to entertain projects of independence,—a Governor of Candia can never hope to become an independent sovereign. He must be thought mad if he is considered capable of hoping to maintain himself, a Mussulman, master of a country inhabited by 150,000 Greeks and by only 30,000 Turks, without the support of the central government. Will it be said that he will retain sympathy for his former master, Mehemet Ali?—and what does it signify, provided that he governs the island well? Another consideration makes it desirable that the government of Candia should be left to Mustapha

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for life; it is, that a man would thus be retained in service who, by his experience and his good qualities, can be an useful assistant towards the reform of the good cause. Besides, who can be sure that a year after he has been appointed Pacha of Candia, that place will not be taken from him to be given to some favourite, if it is not secured to him by a grant for life? Considering the different elements which characterise the internal state of Candia, and place it in a special position, it is certain that every change of administration in that island will create great troubles. Even in the case of the Sultan being unwilling even to grant him explicitly the title of tenant for life, it would still be requisite that the firman of his nomination should contain some assurance which should authorise Mustapha Pacha to hope that, so long as he shall conduct himself well, he shall preserve his place. It even appears important that this firman should be transmitted to him without delay, and that his submission should be officially demanded.

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OFFICIAL DESPATCH FROM OUR EMBASSY AT ST. PETERSBURG.

Mr. Bloomfield to Viscount Palmerston.

(EXTRACT.)

St. Petersburg, Dec. 1, 1840.

Accounts of the occupation of St. Jean d'Acre were received by Count Nesselrode on the 23d ultimo. His Excellency immediately informed me of this glorious success, and read to me on the following day his report from the Levant.

His congratulations on the fresh laurels gained by the British navy were most enthusiastic; and his Excellency assured me that the energy and promptitude with which the operations of the allied forces had been conducted had given the highest satisfaction to the Emperor. This language was echoed by all the court for several days, and the Imperial Government are sincerely rejoiced at the favourable turn which the Eastern question is assuming.

The bombardment of St. Jean d'Acre was announced on Tuesday last in the "Journal de St.

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Pétersbourg;" and your lordship may judge, from the inclosed extract, of the impression received at court, and of the feelings on this subject which the Government wished to convey.

Count Nesselrode has informed me that he despatches M. de Berg, Secretary to the Russian embassy in London, to-night, who is the bearer of the second class of the order of St. George, which the Emperor forwards for Admiral Sir Robert Stopford, as a proof of his Imperial Majesty's satisfaction with the manner in which he has conducted the operations confided to him, trusting that her Majesty will be graciously pleased to permit him to wear it.

The third class of the same distinguished order is forwarded for Captain Napier, whose conduct and gallantry have excited the greatest admiration in this country.

His Imperial Majesty has sent the order of St. Andrew to the Archduke Frederic.

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Extract from the "St. Petersburg Journal," respecting the Capture of St. Jean d' Acre.

(TRANSLATION.)

An estafette which arrived in the evening from Constantinople has brought despatches from that capital, of the 11th of November (New Style), and from Beyrout of the 6th of November. They had just received there the important news of the capture of St. Jean d'Acre, which took place on the 4th of November, after a bombardment of twelve hours, during which 40,000 projectiles were thrown into the fortress. The explosion of a powder magazine having caused considerable loss to the garrison, which consisted of 6500 Egyptian troops, the remainder of them evacuated the place and fled towards Jaffa, pursued by the Arabs of Naplouse, who have taken up arms in their turn in favour of the Sultan. The Archduke Frederic of Austria has taken a distinguished part in this brilliant military action. His Imperial Highness was the first to plant the standard of the Sultan on the walls of St. Jean d'Acre.

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CONVENTION

Between Commodore Napier, commanding Her Britannic Majesty's Naval Forces before Alexandria, on the one part, and his Excellency Boghos Joussouf Bey, specially authorised by his Highness the Viceroy of Egypt, on the other part; signed at Alexandria, the 27th November, 1840.

Art. I.

Le Commodore Napier, en sa qualité susdite, ayant porté à la connaissance de son Altesse Méhémet Ali, que les Puissances Alliées avaient recommendé à la Sublime Porte de le réintégrer dans le gouvernement héréditaire de l'Egypte, et son Altesse voyant dans cette communication une circonstance favorable pour mettre un terme aux calamités de la guerre, elle s'engage à ordonner à son fils Ibrahim Pacha de procéder à l'évacuation immédiate de la Syrie. Son Altesse s'engage, en outre, à restituer la flotte Ottomane aussitôt qu'elle aura reçu la notification officielle que la Sublime Porte lui accorde le gouvernement héréditaire de l'Egypte, laquelle concession est et demeure garantie par les Puissances.

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ART. II.

Le Commodore Napier mettra à la disposition du Gouvernement Egyptien un bateau à vapeur pour conduire en Syrie l'officier désigné par son Altesse pour porter au Général-en-chef de l'armée Egyptienne l'ordre d'évacuer la Syrie. Le Commandant-en-chef des forces Britanniques, Sir R. Stopford, nommera de son côté un officier pour veiller à l'exécution de cette mesure.

ART. III.

En considération de ce qui précède, le Commodore Napier s'engage à suspendre de la part des forces Britanniques les hostilités contre Alexandrie ou toute autre portion du territoire Egyptien. Il autorisera en même temps la libre navigation des bâtimens destinés au transport des blessés, des invalides ou de toute autre portion de l'armée Egyptienne, que le Gouvernement de l'Egypte désirerait faire rentrer dans ce pays par la voie de mer.

ART. IV.

Il est bien entendu que l'armée Egyptienne aura la faculté de se retirer de la Syrie avec son artillerie, ses armes, ses chevaux, munitions, bag-

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gages, et en genéral tout ce qui constitue le matériel de l'armée.

Fait à double, dont un original pour chaque partie contractante.

(Signé) Ch. Napier, Commodore.
Boghos Joussouf.

OFFICIAL MEMORANDUM.

(TRANSLATION.)

London, November 14, 1840.

The instruction addressed to Lord Ponsonby on the 15th of October last, in consequence of a deliberation which had taken place between the Plenipotentiaries of Austria, Great Britain, Prussia, and Russia, recorded the propriety of the Representatives of the Four Courts at Constantinople being authorised to announce to the Sublime Porte, " that their respective governments, in conformity with the stipulations of the seventh paragraph of the Separate Act annexed to the Convention of July 15, deem it their duty strongly to recommend to the Government of his Highness, that, in case Mehemet Ali should

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submit without delay, and should consent to restore the Ottoman fleet, to withdraw his troops from the whole of Syria, from Adana, Candia, Arabia, and the Holy Cities, his Highness should be pleased not only to reinstate Mehemet Ali in his functions as Pacha of Egypt, but at the same time to grant him the hereditary investiture of the said Pachalic, according to the conditions laid down in the Convention of July 15; it being well understood that this hereditary title should be liable to revocation, if Mehemet Ali, or one of his successors, should infringe the aforesaid conditions."

The advantage of addressing to the Sublime Porte a communication couched in the sense above-mentioned, was unanimously admitted by the Four Courts.

Nevertheless, in order to make still more apparent the just respect which is due to the rights of his Highness, the Cabinet of Vienna was of opinion that the advice which the Representatives of the Four Powers should be called upon to address to the Divan, relative to the reinstatement of Mehemet Ali in the Pachalic of Egypt, ought not to be put forth at Constantinople, until

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after Mehemet Ali should have taken the preliminary step of applying to his Sovereign for pardon, submitting himself to the determinations of his Highness.

Taking into consideration that this opinion of the Cabinet of Vienna serves as a fresh proof of the respect which the courts, parties to the convention of July 15, entertain for the inviolability of the Sultan's rights of sovereignty and independence; considering, moreover, the necessity of speedily bringing the existing crisis in the Levant to a pacific solution, in conformity with the true interests, as likewise with the dignity, of the Porte; the Plenipotentiaries of the said Courts have unanimously resolved to adopt the course above pointed out, in order that Mehemet Ali's application for pardon and his submission should precede the friendly measures which the allied representatives will be instructed to adopt, in order to incline the Porte to grant its pardon to Mehemet Ali.

With this view, the Plenipotentiaries of the Four Powers being desirous of hastening as much as possible the moment when it will be possible for those measures to take place at Con-

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stantinople, have judged it fitting to cause to be pointed out, without the least delay to Mehemet Ali, the way which is still open to him to regain the pardon of his sovereign, and to obtain his reinstatement in the Pachalic of Egypt, notwithstanding the decisive events which have declared themselves against him.

In consequence it was further agreed to communicate to the Ambassador of the Sublime Porte, Chekib Effendi, the present memorandum, as likewise the instruction thereunto annexed.

(Initialed) N.
P.
B.
B.

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PROTOCOL

Of the Conference held at the Foreign Office, the 5th of March, 1841.

Present:

The Plenipotentiaries
of Austria;
of Great Britain;
of Prussia;
of Russia; and
of the Ottoman Porte.

The Plenipotentiaries of the Courts of Austria, Great Britain, Prussia, Russia, and the Sublime Porte, assembled to take into consideration the reports received from Constantinople up to the date of the 4th of February, as well as the communications which had passed between the Representatives of the Four Allied Courts and the Ministry of the Sublime Porte,—

It results from the whole of this intelligence:

1. That Mehemet Ali has absolutely submitted to his sovereign, and has solicited his pardon.

2. That in proof of his submission he has re-

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stored the Ottoman fleet, which, after having been duly delivered over to commissioners named by his Highness, has already left the harbour of Alexandria and entered the Bay of Marmorice.

3. That the whole of Syria is evacuated by the Egyptian troops.

4. That the authority of the Sultan is lawfully re-established both in Syria and in the Island of Candia.

5. That his Highness the Sultan has been pleased to accept the submission of Mehemet Ali, granting full and entire amnesty to him, his children, and his adherents.

6. But yielding to the advice of his Allies, his Highness has been pleased at the same time to announce his intention of reinstating Mehemet Ali in his functions of Pacha of Egypt, with hereditary succession for his descendants.

The conditions laid down by the instruction settled in London on the 15th of October, and by the memorandum of the 14th of November, are thus fulfilled: the Pacha of Egypt has made his submission,—he has restored the fleet,—evacuated the district of Adana, Syria, the Island of

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Candia,—has given the necessary orders for the restoration of the Holy Cities; finally, he has obtained his pardon after having returned to obedience and to duty.

At the same time, the expectation expressed in the collective note addressed to Chekib Effendi, on the 30th of January, is already realised. The advice given by the Representatives of the Four Courts has been received by the Sultan with that confidence which the sentiments of friendship and the efficacious co-operation of his Allies were calculated to inspire him with. His Highness has, in consequence, made public his determination to issue a firman, by which the hereditary investiture of the Pachalic of Egypt should be granted to Mehemet Ali on the basis of the conditions laid down in the Separate Act annexed to the Convention of the 15th of July; and this firman was to be communicated to the Ottoman Ambassador in London, to be made known to the Representatives of the Four Courts, after it shall have received the sanction of his Highness.

In this state of things, considering that the circumstances which led to the departure of the Consuls of the Four Powers from Alexandria

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have ceased to exist, the Plenipotentiaries of the Allied Courts have considered that the moment was arrived when those agents should return to their post. The Representatives of the Four Courts at Constantinople will, for this purpose, come to an understanding with the Sublime Porte in order to fix the time at which these agents shall proceed together to Alexandria.

(Signed) ESTERHAZY. NEUMANN.
PALMERSTON.
BULOW.
BRUNNOW.
CHEKIB.

INSTRUCTIONS

Given to his Excellency Said Muhib Effendi, on a Mission to Egypt, by order of His Highness the Sultan.

(TRANSLATION.)

Said Muhib Effendi will repair direct to Alexandria in the Imperial steam-vessel which has been placed at his disposal.

He will deliver to his Excellency Mehemet

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Ali Pacha the firman relative to the hereditary succession in Egypt; that concerning the concession of the provinces of Soudan, and containing some other orders; lastly, the letter from his Highness the Grand Vizier. He will represent to him, in suitable terms, that those disputes and differences which have existed for some time past being entirely removed, there will henceforward be no sort of division or dissension; and that it will be necessary to work in perfect union for the welfare of religion, of the government, of the country, and of the nation. It is naturally necessary that the firmans in question should be officially read in full divan, and also made public. If Mehemet Ali Pacha executes this measure spontaneously, it will be very well. In the contrary case, the said Effendi must exhort him to do so, making the necessary representations to him.

There have been delivered to the said Effendi the Nichan and the Fess, which distinguish the Viziers, destined for his Excellency Mehemet Ali Pacha; and it will be necessary that the latter should put them on on the day on which the firman shall be read.

In case, however, he should not appear dis-

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posed to do so, the said Effendi must exhort him thereto.

In the firman relative to the hereditary succession, it is stated and laid down as a condition, that hereafter the Governors of Egypt will have to repair in person to Constantinople to receive the investiture. However, his Highness, in consideration of the advanced age of Mehemet Ali Pacha, and moved by a feeling of humanity and compassion, is not willing that he should expose himself to the fatigue of such a voyage.

In announcing this to Mehemet Ali Pacha, it must be added, in suitable terms, that his Highness would see with satisfaction that he sent one of his sons here to thank his Highness for the signal favour of which he had just been the object.

Mehemet Ali Pacha must accept and execute immediately, and without objection, all the conditions of the firman which relate to the hereditary succession, as well as all the orders contained in our Imperial firman.

If, however, contrary to our expectation, he should be offended with some of those conditions, and if he should shew any hesitation, the said Effendi will represent to him, in persuasive terms,

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that these resolutions of his Highness are definitive, that not one of them can be changed or modified, and that, moreover, the august Allied Courts would not give their assent.

If the Pacha will not allow himself to be convinced, and if he should persist in his opinion, attempts must be made to induce him to follow the right course, by declaring to him that it is his interest to close, without provoking afresh the employment of coercive measures; that if it was necessary again to have recourse to war, he alone would be responsible for the human blood which would in consequence be shed; in short, that the non-acceptance of one of the established conditions will be prejudicial to the hereditary right which has just been granted to him as a signal favour.

When the said Effendi has arrived at Alexandria, he will perceive, in the first or second interview, what is the course which Mehemet Ali intends to follow.

If, in five or six days' time, his mission terminates to his satisfaction, he will have to return without delay to Constantinople.

If, on the contrary, the affair should appear to him still to require long discussions, and that

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he should be obliged to remain at Alexandria fifteen or twenty days, then, as it is necessary that we should know here the course which Mehemet Ali may follow in the first instance, and the language which he may hold, the said Effendi may send back the Imperial steam-vessel with a report containing the information which he may have gathered during some days in his interviews with Mehemet Ali Pacha. Lastly, in case Mehemet Ali should in nowise take into consideration the overtures of the delegate of the Sublime Porte, and should wholly reject the conditions which are offered to him, then, as it will be necessary to concert afresh with the Allied Courts upon this affair, the said Effendi will point out to the Pacha the necessity of his giving him in writing his refusal to accept the conditions in question. He will then make him write clearly all that he may have to say, and he will submit the paper to the Sublime Porte, for whose answer he will wait.

The said Effendi being the bearer of our Imperial firman relative to the arrears of tribute of Egypt, of the Island of Candia, and of Syria, it is evident that Mehemet Ali Pacha must

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offer no objection; but that he must pay the whole of the tribute of Egypt and of Candia up to the end of the current year, and that of Syria up to the end of the year 1255 (March 4, 1840). However, if Mehemet Ali had intended to keep these arrears on account of the expense which has been occasioned to him by the stay of the Imperial fleet at Alexandria, it will be pointed out to him that the voyage to, and the stay in, Egypt of that fleet having taken place against the will of the Sultan, the Sublime Porte should not bear the expense which that has occasioned; that that would, moreover, be contrary to the Treaty concluded between the august Courts, since it is stipulated that no sort of charge shall be made for the support of the fleet in question; that, consequently, it could not be permitted that the arrears of tribute should be retained for such a reason, and that it is necessary that Mehemet Ali should discharge them without delay, and should thus settle this point in a definitive manner.

If the Pacha should allege, that on account of the war it was impossible for him to levy the whole of the imposts of Syria, and that he

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proposes not to confound this point with the other arrears, but to settle them separately, he must be answered, that, in fact, the Sublime Porte must receive from him all which it has been possible for him to raise in Syria in the said year, without prejudice to its afterwards collecting the remainder upon the spot according to the authentic documents which must be furnished to it by the Pacha. Lastly, in case of its being wholly impossible to arrange at Alexandria the affair of the tribute of Syria for the present year 1256, it will be settled that Mehemet Ali Pacha shall send here a commissioner *ad hoc*, with whom this point shall be arranged as a matter of account.

With respect to the passage in the above-mentioned firman as to the hereditary succession, in which there is a question of the control, this is the meaning and the object of it. As the quarter of the revenues of Egypt is to revert to the Sublime Porte, and as the imposts to be paid by the inhabitants of Egypt must be in con formity with the new laws of the Empire, it is necessary that it should be known here what is exactly the amount of the effective revenues of

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Egypt, as well as the manner in which the inhabitants are treated there; and it is for this purpose that the Sublime Porte wishes to send an agent who should reside there. That agent will take no direct part in the levying of the imposts, nor in the expenses; his mission will be confined to ascertaining facts, and receiving the sums which revert to the Sublime Porte. There is, then, nothing in all this which ought to give umbrage to Mehemet Ali. But, even if he should hesitate to consent thereto, he must be made to observe that this point, decided upon in a definitive manner, cannot be changed. It must be added, in suitable terms, that, after having settled the affair with him, the Sublime Porte will send an agent to Egypt, to whom (as he will be commissioned to receive the sums which revert to the Sultan) it will be proper to give the title of tefterdar (treasurer).

In one of the letters from Mehemet Ali Pacha, which arrived here by Mazloum Bey, he requested that, since the deserter Ahmed Pacha, as well as Sheriff Aga and Osman Bey, have had to remain in Egypt, their families should also be sent there; it is not intended to refuse

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this request. But when, lately, the Sublime Porte commanded Mehemet Ali, through the medium of Mazloum Bey, to send here the harems of Selim Pacha and of Muhib Effendi, who are at Constantinople, it was answered, that the wife of Selim Pacha being a relation of Mehemet Ali, and the harem of Muhib Effendi not being pleased with him, they could not be forced to come here. Now, the harem of Selim Pacha might repair to Constantinople with the power of returning afterwards to Egypt, if it wishes to do so. And as to the other harem, if even it should not be satisfied, it is not proper that it should remain there, while Muhib Effendi himself is here. In short, it is necessary that this harem, as well as the Miri Aloi Ibrahim Bey, whose dismissal was lately required, should be sent, in any case, to Constantinople. Upon their arrival here will depend the return of the families of the above-named deserters to Egypt.

The Commissioner, Muhib Effendi, will then suitably explain all this to Mehemet Ali Pacha, and exert himself so that the two harems above-mentioned, and Ibrahim Bey, should be sent here.

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If the first regiment of marines, and that of the town-militia of Broussa, which went with the Imperial fleet, have been sent to the Ottoman head-quarters and there delivered up, after the evacuation of Syria by the Egyptian troops, the intentions of the Sublime Porte would be already accomplished. If, on the contrary, they have been withdrawn into the interior of Egypt with the Egyptian troops, they must now be sent back to Constantinople.

In case, then, the two above-mentioned regiments should not have been delivered up at the Ottoman head-quarters, the said Commissioner will devise the means of causing them to be sent here with all their officers, soldiers, and equipage.

FIRMAN OF INVESTITURE

Sent from the Sultan to Mehemet Ali.

(TRANSLATION.)

21 *Zilhadjé*, 1259:
February 13, 1841.

It is with lively satisfaction that I have received information of the submission of which

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you have just given proof, as likewise of the feelings of loyalty, of devotion, and of fidelity which you shew, as well towards my imperial person as for the interests of my empire. Those feelings, united to the zeal and wisdom with which you are endowed, as well as to the knowledge and experience which you have acquired with respect to the affairs of Egypt in the course of your administration, are guarantees to me that you will know how to deserve the marks of favour and confidence which I wish to bestow upon you; that is to say, that you will acknowledge all the value thereof, and that you will study to transmit these feelings to your posterity. With this conviction, I have reinforced you in the government of Egypt, comprehended within such and such limits, and have added thereto the privilege of the hereditary succession upon the following conditions:—

When, in the course of time, the government of Egypt shall become vacant, it shall be conferred upon him among your male children who shall be preferred and chosen by me; and the same principle shall be followed with regard to their male children. In case of your male de-

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scent becoming extinct, my Sublime Porte will confer the said government upon some other person; and the male issue of the female line shall have no sort of right thereto.

He among your children who shall hereafter be raised to the government of Egypt must repair in person to Constantinople to receive the investiture thereof.

The governors of Egypt, although enjoying the privilege of the hereditary succession, shall be assimilated to the other Viziers with respect to rank and to precedence, which shall be regulated according to seniority; consequently, the ceremonial, the denominations, and the titles, which are used with regard to the other Viziers of my Sublime Porte, shall be equally applicable to the governors of Egypt.

The salutary provisions of my Hatti Sheriff of Gulhané, all the laws established or to be established by my Sublime Porte, as well as all the treaties concluded, or to be concluded, between it and the friendly courts, shall likewise be fully executed in Egypt.

All the imposts and revenues of Egypt shall be levied in my name; but, as the inhabitants of

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Egypt are also subjects of my Sublime Porte, and as, consequently, they must be for ever secured from every sort of cruelty and oppression, the tenths, duties, and other imposts which shall be levied within the said government, shall be so in conformity with the principles in force in the other provinces of my empire.

Whatever may be the sum to which the customs, duties, tenths, and other imposts and revenues of whatever description of the government of Egypt may annually amount, a quarter of that gross revenue, that is to say, before making any deduction therefrom for expenses, shall be taken and paid to my Sublime Porte; the other three quarters shall be left to the Governors of Egypt for the expenses of collection, for those of administration, and for the military expenses, as well as for their own use, as also in payment of the provisions which Egypt, according to custom, furnishes every year in kind to the two Holy Cities. The nature and the form of payment of the tribute which reverts to my Sublime Porte, such as they are decided upon here, shall hold good for five years from the present year, 1257. Afterwards these points must be regulated in a

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suitable manner, according to the future state of Egypt and to the exigencies of the moment. My Sublime Porte being obliged to know exactly the annual revenues of Egypt, as well as the manner in which the tithes and other imposts will be levied there; and this knowledge being only to be acquired by means of a control established in the said province, measures will be adopted upon this subject, which I shall make known by an imperial ordinance.

My Sublime Porte being resolved to improve the coin of the empire which serves to regulate the transactions of the people, and it being necessary that this point should be settled in a manner which will render any alteration of value or standard henceforth impossible, the gold and silver coins which are struck in Egypt in my name, and with my imperial permission, shall, with regard to value, and standard, and form, be similar to those of Constantinople.

Eighteen thousand men being sufficient in time of peace for the internal security of Egypt, it will not be permitted that that number should be exceeded. However, as the land and sea forces of Egypt are maintained for the service of my

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Sublime Porte, the latter shall have the power, in time of war, of increasing that number in such manner as it may think fit.

As it has been settled that the soldiers who shall be in other parts of the empire must, after five years' service, be replaced by new recruits, this same practice must also be followed in Egypt. Consequently, from among the present Egyptian troops, the soldiers arising from the last recruiting shall be selected; and with the reservation that the duration of their service shall be hereafter fixed according to the date of their enlistment; there shall be formed thereof 20,000 men, of whom 18,000 shall be employed, as above stated, for the internal service of Egypt, and 2000 for service here. And since a fifth of these 20,000 men must be renewed every year, 4000 recruits shall be levied from the effective population of Egypt, acting with the greatest humanity, and impartially drawing lots for those who answer to the conditions prescribed by the law. Of these 4000 men, 3600 shall be kept there, and 400 shall be sent here. But one as well as the other shall be sent back to their homes after five years' service, and those whose term shall have expired cannot again be enlisted.

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Although the troops which may serve in Egypt shall be allowed, on account of the climate, to be clothed with a different stuff, yet the cut and form of their clothes, as well as their nichans and flags, shall in nowise be distinguished from those in use among other troops of my Sublime Porte.

The flags of the Egyptian vessels, as well as the uniforms and nichan of the officers and men of the navy, shall be similar to those used here.

The officers of the land and sea forces up to the rank of Kol-Aghassi (major) inclusively, shall be appointed according to the choice of the governors of Egypt; the superior ranks can only be conferred by me on the recommendation of the said governors.

The governors of Egypt shall not be permitted henceforth to build vessels of war without the express permission of my Sublime Porte.

As the privilege of the hereditary succession depends upon each of the present conditions, the non-fulfilment of one of them would cause the immediate revocation and annulment of the said privilege.

This being my imperial will, you, and your children, and descendants, will appreciate with

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gratitude this signal imperial favour, and scrupulously execute the present conditions.

You will have constantly to watch over the welfare and safety of the inhabitants of Egypt, to preserve them from any act of injustice and oppression, and to abstain from any proceeding contrary to the contents of the present firman.

It is with this object that this imperial order, &c.

IMPERIAL FIRMAN

Addressed to Mehemet Ali, conferring upon him the Government of Nubia, Cordufan, and Sennaar, and enjoining him to abolish the Negro Hunts, &c.

(TRANSLATION.)

21 *Zilhadjé*, 1256:
February 13, 1841.

To my Vizier Mehemet Ali Pacha, Governor of Egypt, to whom I now confide the administration of the provinces of Nubia, Darfour, Cordufan, and Sennaar.

O my above-mentioned Vizier! since, as has

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been said in another imperial ordinance, I have thought fit to reinstate you in the government of Egypt, comprehended within its known limits, and to add thereto the hereditary succession upon certain conditions, I have also taken the gracious resolution of granting to you, without the hereditary succession, the government of Nubia, Darfour, Cordufan, and Sennaar, with all their dependencies, that is to say, with all the territories annexed to them situated out of Egypt, and I have issued an imperial ordinance upon this subject.

You will then study, by means of your intelligence and of your wisdom, to govern those countries, and to make them prosper in conformity with my just intentions, and to insure the tranquillity and the welfare of their inhabitants. You will, likewise, submit to my Sublime Porte an exact list of the annual revenues of the said provinces.

The incursions which the troops are accustomed to make from time to time into the villages of the above-named countries, and in consequence of which young and vigorous individuals of both sexes are made prisoners, and remain in the

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hands of the soldiers in discharge of their pay, lead, necessarily, to the ruin and depopulation of those countries, and are contrary to our holy law and to the rules of justice.

As, then, this custom, as well as that of reducing some of the said captives to the condition of eunuchs, is in all respects contrary to my imperial will; and as, in general, such acts of cruelty are repugnant to the principles of justice and humanity which I have loudly proclaimed since my accession to the throne;

You will devise with the greatest care the means of rigidly prohibiting them, and of abolishing them in a definitive manner.

All the officers, soldiers, and other public servants who are in Egypt, with the exception of certain individuals who repaired thither with my fleet, having been graciously pardoned by me: you will have to announce this happy intelligence to all.

According to what is said in the other imperial ordinance above-mentioned, the officers employed about you, and whom it may be a question of appointing to a rank superior to that of Kol-Aghassi (Major), cannot be appointed until a

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reference shall have been made to my Sublime Porte.

However, those who are actually in service shall be confirmed in their rank; and you will have to submit to my Sublime Porte a list of these officers, in order that their firman of confirmation may be published and sent to them.

It being my imperial will that all these several points should be executed, you will take pains to act exactly in conformity therewith; and it is to this end that, &c. &c.

INCLOSURE TO PRECEDING DOCUMENT.

(TRANSLATION.)

Upon the Conditions to be attached to the Concession of the Hereditary Government of Egypt, which the Sultan has declared his willingness to grant to Mehemet Ali.

The moment being arrived when the Sublime Porte will have to make known to Mehemet Ali the conditions on which the Sultan will be pleased to grant to him the hereditary Pachalic of Egypt,

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our instructions enjoin us to offer to it some advice dictated by the constant solicitude of our governments for the interests of his Imperial Majesty. This advice will thus be the completion of the succour and the support which they have afforded to this monarch in the very memorable undertaking which, thanks to Divine Providence, has just been brought to an end in a manner so advantageous and so glorious for him.

I am about to enumerate in this place the most important points to be settled with Mehemet Ali, and to add thereto some explanations which will serve to make known to the Sublime Porte our thoughts in this respect. In the present instance also, the Treaty of the 15th of July, the effects of which have been so beneficial to us, will serve for our ground-work. The stipulations contained in the Separate Act of that Treaty, and which are to be carried into effect, are the following:

ART. III.

"The annual tribute to be paid to the Sultan by Mehemet Ali shall be proportioned to the

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greater or less amount of territory of which the latter may obtain the administration."

This territory is limited at present to Egypt alone, for which it was fixed in 1811, that he should pay 12,000 purses, which, at the present course of Turkish money, is equivalent to a sum more than quadruple, that is, to 50,000 purses. But as it is matter of public notoriety, that the revenues of this province alone have since been carried up to 400,000 purses, without the country having suffered from it,* and that the expenses of administration at the present time, when the Pacha has no longer occasion for a fleet and an army, since his future position is secured, can be covered by a fourth part of that sum, the tribute to be hereafter paid will necessarily have to be augmented to a much greater amount, which it shall please his Highness to fix.

The particulars contained in the annexed paper on the finances of Egypt might be a guide to the Ottoman ministers in this respect. We must on this occasion draw their attention to the arrears due by Mehemet Ali for the years 1839 and 1840;

* Mehemet Ali, according to his own admission, has caused them to amount to a much greater sum during these last years.

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and which may with perfect justice be demanded of him. Another point still more important for the Sublime Porte is, that it should endeavour to secure itself against the depreciation of the coin, and the variation in the course of exchange. For this purpose it might, when the amount of tribute shall be fixed, determine the value thereof in Egyptian piastres, according to their present rate and weight, up to the time when the improvements, which the Porte purposes to introduce into its monetary system, can be carried into effect; and when, consequently, the Egyptian piastres will be able to be replaced, without detriment to the Imperial Treasury, by Turkish piastres.

It is understood that if Mehemet Ali should desire to take credit for, or to deduct from the tribute to be paid by him, the expenses which he has incurred for the maintenance of the Ottoman fleet during the whole time which it has remained in the Egyptian ports, such a pretension shall be declared admissible according to the tenour of the fourth article of the Separate Act, which has provided for this contingency.

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ART. V.

"All the treaties, and all the laws of the Ottoman empire, shall be applicable to Egypt in the same manner as to every other part of that empire. But the Sultan consents that, on condition of the regular payment of the tribute above-mentioned, Mehemet Ali and his descendants shall collect, in the name of the Sultan, and as delegates of his Highness, within the provinces, the administration of which shall be confided to them, the taxes and imposts legally established. It is, moreover, understood that in consideration of the receipt of the aforesaid taxes and imposts, Mehemet Ali and his descendants shall defray all the expenses of the civil and military administration of the said provinces."

This article does not require any comment. As Egypt forms part of the Ottoman empire, the treaties of the Sublime Porte with foreign powers must be executed there with the same strictness as in all its other provinces. The same will be the case with respect to all the laws of the empire, among which the Hatti Sheriff of Gulhané now holds the first place. This Hatti

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Sheriff, the imperishable monument of glory for the reign of the Sultan Abdul Medjid, and which has united Turkey with the most civilised people of the earth by bonds not hereafter to be dissolved, cannot fail to exercise the most salutary influence upon Egypt. It will secure the people from the tyrannical oppression under which it has hitherto groaned; it will regulate the receipt of the taxes and imposts; it will put an end to the revolting abuses of the conscription, and to the unjust and arbitrary seizures of property, and will ensure to it by degrees all the benefits of an enlightened civilisation.

The right of coining money having always been established in Egypt, Mehemet Ali and his successors will continue to enjoy it; but it must be of the same die as that coined at Constantinople. As regards the monetary system, that must be the same for Egypt as for the other parts of the empire; but this cannot be effected until the Porte shall have succeeded in improving its own coin, which, unhappily, is not of the same value as that of Egypt. An attempt to blend the two systems from the present moment would be

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gratuitously to destroy what Mehemet Ali has done of good and useful, and which it is the interest of the Sublime Porte to maintain and successively to establish in all its dominions.

Among the treaties with foreign powers mentioned above, there is one especially, which, if it is maintained in all its strictness, will be capable of opening an era of prosperity to the inhabitants of Egypt, namely, the Treaty of Commerce first concluded with England, and to which the greater part of the European powers have subsequently acceded. This treaty, by abolishing monopolies, will give a free course to industry; will put an end to a multitude of arbitrary exactions oppressive to the people, which it will thus extricate from the abject and miserable condition under which they now groan; and will ensure the prosperity of the country by restoring to agriculture very considerable portions of land which have remained uncultivated up to the present time.

ART. VI.

"The military and naval forces which may be maintained by the Pacha of Egypt, forming part

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of the forces of the Ottoman empire, shall always be considered as maintained for the service of the state."

This article requires some explanation. As the Egyptian forces are hereafter to form part of those of the Sultan, it is understood that it belongs to his Imperial Majesty to determine the number and distribution of them, and to summon them in time of war to that point of the empire at which their presence may be deemed necessary.

The appointment of military and naval officers can only be made in Egypt by the Sultan, as in all other provinces of the empire. Nevertheless, the Sultan, by special favour, and in consideration of the remoteness of Egypt, might authorise the Pacha to grant promotions in the name of his Imperial Majesty up to the rank of Yous-bashi, inclusively, in the land forces, and of first lieutenant in the fleet. All the officers at present employed in Egypt must, in order to be able to remain there, obtain from the Sultan the confirmation of their ranks. Still it would, as it appears, be requisite to give them beforehand the assurance that such confirmation will be granted

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to them without difficulty. By this means all notions of reaction or revenge will be put aside.

It is understood that Mehemet Ali cannot hereafter cause any vessel of war to be built without the express permission of his Imperial Majesty.

The Egyptian flag must henceforth be replaced by the flag of his Imperial Majesty, such as is used in all the other parts of the empire. The same is the case with the Egyptian uniform for the land and sea forces, which must be replaced by the dress worn in the other parts of the Ottoman empire; and the modifications rendered necessary by the climate, such, for instance, as the employment of lighter stuffs, can alone be adopted after his Imperial Majesty shall have assented to them.

When all these points shall have been definitely settled by the Sultan and his ministers, which it appears to me important to do without delay, his Imperial Majesty's determinations will have to be announced to Mehemet Ali by the firman which shall invest him with the hereditary government of Egypt. It should be clearly expressed

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therein, that this great and important concession, which the Sultan in his magnanimity has been pleased to make, depends on the faithful execution of the conditions above-mentioned, and will be subject to revocation the day that Mehemet Ali, or the members of his family called upon to succeed him, shall refuse to fulfil them.

The rank of Pacha of Egypt should be fixed as that of a Vizier of the empire, and not having in this character, with the exception of hereditary right, any other prerogative than those enjoyed by the other Viziers.

As regards the mode of succession we are acquainted with the notion of the Sublime Porte. It would wish to reserve to itself the right, when the place of Pacha of Egypt shall be vacant, to name such person of the family of Mehemet Ali as it shall consider best qualified for it. In any case, it will be requisite that its intentions in this respect shall be very clearly expressed in the firman of investiture.

It should also be stated therein, that the Pachas of Egypt are bound henceforth, as well at the time of their nomination as on the occasion of the accession of a Sultan, to

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proceed to Constantinople, there to take the required oath and receive the investiture; and that they can in no case assume the title of Governor of the province placed under their administration before fulfilling that formality.

The Sublime Porte appears to be desirous that neither Mehemet Ali nor his son Ibrahim should come here on the occasion of the investiture, as their appearance might give rise to a multitude of intrigues which it is well to prevent; but if Mehemet Ali should be willing to send hither his son Said Bey, such an act of submission would perhaps be agreeable to the Sultan, and would produce a good effect on the public.

PRIVATE STATEMENT FURNISHED TO LORD PONSONBY.

On the Tribute paid by Egypt.

Mehemet Ali was installed in the Pachalic of Egypt in 1806, on the condition that he should send to the Sultan a present of 4000 purses, which, according to the course of exchange at

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that time, represented about the sum of 2,400,000 florins.

The Pachalic of Egypt at that time was commonly called the Pachalic of Cairo (Belled el Mase); it extended only to Middle Egypt and to the Delta. The Said (Upper Egypt) was divided into several districts, and administered by the Mameluke Beys, and Alexandria with a part of the province Béhéré by a Pacha, independent of the Pacha of Cairo.

A short time after the installation of Mehemet Ali in the Pachalic of Egypt, the Porte consented to give him the administration of the Pachalic of Alexandria as a reward for the services which he had rendered to the empire in 1807, on the occasion of the evacuation of Lower Egypt and of the city of Alexandria by the English.

The revenues of these two Pachalics were composed:—

1. Of the land-tax upon the lands at that time cultivated by the Fellahs, not dependent on the Beys.

2. Of the customs-duties of import and export at Suez, Cairo, Damietta, Rosetta, and Alexandria.

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3. Of the duty on the caravans of Sennaar, Darfour, and Cordufan.

4. Of the capitation-tax paid by the Rayahs.

There are no data at all worthy of credit, either as to the amount of these revenues, or as to that of the expenses. Mehemet Ali, however, asserts that his treasury never realised above 35,000 purses a-year, and that the expenses of the civil administration and of the troops left him scarcely sufficient to maintain himself and to satisfy the people of Constantinople.

In order to improve the state of his finances, he had wished to increase the land-tax; but having encountered very decided opposition in the body of the Ulemas and of the proprietors, who did not cease to remind him of the firman of Sultan Selim, by which the taxes in Egypt had been invariably fixed, Mehemet Ali gave up that notion, and was the more resigned in doing so, as the presence of the Mamelukes appeared to him to be dangerous with reference to an innovation which was besides by no means popular.

Nevertheless, after the defeat of the Mamelukes in 1811, Mehemet Ali made himself master

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of the Said. He solicited the investiture of it, offering a considerable increase of tribute.

That investiture was granted to him, on condition that he should pay 12,000 purses a-year, which, according to the course of exchange at that time, was equivalent to 2,400,000 florins. Being relieved from the Mamelukes, Mehemet Ali, with the concurrence of the Ulemas, and alleging the depreciation of the piastres, increased considerably the land-tax and the duties of customs on the internal trade: his revenues were tripled.

He had, besides, become proprietor of the greater part of the real property abandoned by the Mamelukes of the Said, and he acquired the reversion of all the properties of which the title-deeds were not drawn up according to a regulation established by him a few weeks before his law of compulsory surrender.

Mehemet Ali was already in a state to defray an expenditure of 125,000 purses, and the receipts shewed a considerable excess.

The Porte having positive knowledge of the favourable state of the finances of Egypt manifested a wish to share its revenues. In conse-

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quence of that, Satif Pacha was directed to demand an increase of tribute; but Mehemet Ali, under pretence that the war in Arabia occasioned him great expense, flatly refused it. Satif Pacha, who had instigated the above-mentioned demand for an increase, was afterwards, on the pretence that he had wished to excite a revolt and dispossess Mehemet Ali, publicly beheaded in Cairo.

A similar demand was made in the last instance in 1824, but then it was the war of the Morea which rendered Mehemet Ali unable to comply with it.

Meanwhile, the revenues of Mehemet Ali increased considerably. In 1824, they amounted to 24,000 purses.

But as his armaments by land and sea were continually increased, this state of receipts did not cover that of expenditure.

He then devised a number of monopolies and appaltos, which he carried through with every fiscal severity.

In 1830 (1245 of the Hegira), the Grand Seignor conferred upon him the administration of the Island of Candia.

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The tribute was not settled, because the island, being altogether laid waste by civil war, presented a deficit. Mustapha Pacha deducted from its revenues, as his allowances, 2,500,000 piastres a-year.

Thus, notwithstanding this new acquisition, notwithstanding the great depreciation of the piastres, and notwithstanding the enormous increase of the revenues of Egypt, the tribute of 12,000 purses remained untouched.

The receipts in 1830 were....	493,791 purses
The expenditure	444,872
Excess of receipts	48,919

In 1833, a budget was officially drawn up and published, and exhibited the receipts and the expenditure as follows:—

Receipts.....	505,135 purses
Expenditure	415,513
Excess of receipts	89,622

We are unable to say whether this budget of Egypt is real or imaginary; we confine ourselves to giving an exact translation of it.

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The fact is, that the war of Syria had cost above 300,000 purses, and that the treasury, according to the admission of the treasurer at the end of the period 1248 (1833), far from presenting an excess of receipts as exhibited by the budget, was 165,000 purses deficient; Mehemet Ali would have nothing further to do with the budget; he suspended the issue of pay to the troops and civil officers, and declared himself even incapable of paying the tribute.

According to the arrangement of May 14, 1833, Mehemet Ali consented to pay for Egypt the same tribute which he paid up to that time, and for the Pachalics of Syria, Adana, and Crete what his predecessors had paid, which was settled as follows:—

Egypt	12,000 purses
Candia.....	2,000
Syria and Adana.....	18,000
	32,000

Which is equivalent to 1,600,000 florins: that is to say, Mehemet Ali pays 800,000 florins less than he paid for the Pachalic of Egypt alone, without the Said, without Alexandria, without

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the power of increasing the land-tax and establishing monopolies, which he has known how to turn to account with as much address as cruelty, to such an extent as that, by his own admission, these different heads of direct and indirect taxes, including therein Syria and Candia, furnished him in 1838 with 900,000 purses.

We are not exactly aware of the details of this immense revenue, nor of the expenses connected with it; but we know that notwithstanding Mehemet Ali's assurances that this year gave him an excess of 197,000 purses, he has not been able either to pay the army, or to defray the charges of the different services connected with it, or to pay the fleet or the civil servants of the country. The army claims pay for sixteen or eighteen months, the fleet for eleven, the civil servants for thirteen: the tribute is owing for 1839 and 1840. These different arrears may be calculated at 500,000 purses, which tallies exactly with 25,000,000 of Convention florins.

We conceive that Mehemet Ali, if he chooses to reduce the taxes to a scale consistent with the Hatti Sheriff of Gulhané and with the Treaty of Commerce, can reckon upon a revenue of

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400,000 purses a-year; on the other hand, being relieved from the surplus of the land and sea forces, from the ruinous commissions which he gives in foreign countries, from ship-building, and from secret expenses, he will be able to reduce his expenditure to 100,000 purses. This will give him the enormous excess of nearly 300,000 purses, or 15,000,000 florins.

We consider that our calculation is a reasonable estimate; for the land-tax, which at present affects only 3,856,226 feddans, produces 225,000 purses. Now there are 3,157,000 feddans of uncultivated lands, two-thirds of which might be cleared without the conscription and without forced labour, which, besides the real consumption of men, occasion an emigration which deprives agriculture of more individuals than even the army: that would produce from 120,000 to 130,000 purses.

Add to this the produce of the duties on imports (of manufactures, wines, &c. of Europe and of Asia), and on the export of objects not subject to monopoly, as Egyptian manufactures, indigo, sugar, gums, and other drugs, such as it is now fixed by lease at 20,000 purses, and the duties on

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the grains which were monopolised, such as wheat, barley, rice, beans, lentils, dourah, and others, the exportation of which in ordinary years amounts from 600,000 to 700,000 ardebs, and which, according to the new treaty, can be exported on paying 9 per cent, which will produce ..... 18,000 purses

Cotton.....	10,000
Flax and flax-seed	1,200
Transit duty on coffee, ivory, ostrich feathers, gold dust, and other objects of trade, from Africa and from Arabia.....	6,000

Thus Mehemet Ali will be able to abolish all the other duties, taxes, and imposts, to deliver the peasants and the working classes from the most cruel exactions and fiscal vexations, and to simplify the receipt of the land-tax and of the customs, and, by suppressing the innumerable monopolies, give to his administration an equitable, steady, and humane direction.

The above amount of revenues is by no means exaggerated. Mehemet Ali himself asserted that the land-tax and customs of Egypt alone, cultivated in the manner in which he proposed that it should be as soon as he could put an end

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to his warlike demonstrations, might give him 10,000,000 florins a-year, after paying the expenses of administration and maintenance.

As there is a question of fixing the amount of tribute which Mehemet Ali shall hereafter have to pay for Egypt, it is altogether proper to pay attention to the data above set forth.

MEHEMET ALI TO THE GRAND VIZIER.

(*Communicated to Viscount Ponsonby, March 7*, 1841.)

(TRANSLATION.)

I have had the honour to receive your Highness's letter, by which I have learned that my alacrity in proving by facts my devotion and my submission to him who is the shadow of God on earth, having been very agreeable to him, he has deigned to reinstate me in the Government of Egypt with hereditary succession, and that the Imperial Firman which contains some conditions attached to that hereditary succession, and which

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is decorated at the top with an Imperial Ordinance, was sent to me by his Excellency Said Muhib Effendi, one of the principal servants of the Sublime Porte, and Minister of Justice. In conformity with my duty as a devoted subject, I ordered a procession of honour to be formed, which I sent to meet his Excellency; I caused numerous salutes to be fired by the land batteries and by the ships, and the vessels to be dressed in colours: rejoicings which filled with joy and with contentment the hearts of the subjects of the Sublime Porte, who addressed prayers to the Most High for the preservation of the days and for the prosperity of his Imperial Majesty. May the Supreme Ruler of the Universe be pleased to ordain that our most august, most mighty, and most powerful Padishah and Master shall for ever spread abroad his favours over mankind, and shine in the kingdom of justice and of equity.

It is clear and evident that whatsoever efforts my children, my posterity, and myself, even to the time of our death, may make to fulfil the duties of our devotion, we shall never be able to evince as we ought our gratitude for these dis-

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tinguished favours. Nevertheless, I am confident that his Highness, who is full of generosity and of clemency, moved by his magnanimous character, will not consider it worthy of himself that, while the Creator of the World exempts mankind from harsh conditions, the Padishahs, who are endowed with divine qualities, should attach to their benefits and to their favours conditions which cannot be executed. I therefore take the liberty to set forth here my reasons for not accepting certain conditions.

And in the first place, as respects the hereditary succession, it is said that it shall belong to my male posterity, and that the government of Egypt shall be conferred upon the individual who shall have been preferred by the Sultan. I also am convinced that in fact it is better that the hereditary succession should appertain to the male line. But time and experience alone can shew which of the children is the best and most worthy subject; and the family here, and the principal servants of the family, will know this point. It is clear then that if it is laid down as a condition that the hereditary succession shall pass from the elder to the elder, in the male line,

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the existing family and its principal servants will demand that the eldest should be appointed, and his Highness will deign to agree to their demand; and in this manner good order and tranquillity will be maintained. It is evident, moreover, that his Highness, moved by sentiments of clemency, desires the maintenance of repose and of tranquillity; and it is for that reason that I request that the question of the hereditary succession may be settled as has been stated above.

Next comes the complete execution in Egypt of the dispositions of the Hatti Sheriff of Gulhané, of the laws of the Sublime Porte established, or to be established, and of all the Treaties made or to be made with friendly Powers.

All the principles established by the above-mentioned Hatti Sheriff, as well as the greater part of the consequences which result from it, are for many years put in practice here, only some of these consequences not being in unison with the disposition of the countries and the nature of things, have necessarily remained inoperative. Still, nevertheless, nothing, thank God, is done

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under the auspices of his Highness which is not in conformity with equity and moderation.

Let us pass now to my proceedings with respect to the friendly Powers. These proceedings have, from all times, been based on their treaties with the Sublime Porte. I have not, and I shall not have, in my individual capacity, treaties with them. In my character of subject, and of submissive subject, it is my duty to conform my conduct to the treaties existing between the Sublime Porte and other Powers.

As regards the laws made or to be made by the Sublime Porte for the internal administration of his Highness's dominions, I will state as follows, respecting the military laws and those of civil administration. Your Highness is aware that the system of regular troops was introduced into Egypt twenty years ago. Now at the time when that system was introduced, I caused the French military code to be translated, I had it drawn up by the Ulemas, adapted to the capacity of the natives, and to the nature of their dispositions, and made conformable to the injunctions of the holy laws; and this has become a lawful book in the hands of the public,—a book,

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of which the arrangements have in the long run been adopted gradually by all; so that at the present time every one conforms himself to and submits to it. Your Excellency doubtless, therefore, sees that there are numerous inconveniences in abrogating laws solidly fixed, in order to set up new ones in their place. I accordingly request that this code may be suffered to remain as it is.

The affairs of each country depend on the nature of its position. Hence the natural necessity of laying down the principles of administration in a country, according to the nature of the affairs which are peculiar to it; and it is evident that laws made for another country cannot be applied to this country. That is a natural rule which is observed even in the States of Europe, where each part of a kingdom has laws analogous to the dispositions of the inhabitants. I request, therefore, that in consideration of what is required by the rules of good administration and of prudence, the abrogation of the existing regulations may be waved.

Another point, namely, the levying of the tenths of the other duties and taxes, in the same

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manner as shall be the case in the other parts of the empire, and the collection, in the first instance, and without abatement for charges, on account of the Sublime Porte, of the fourth part of the annual amount of the custom duties, tenths, taxes, and all the revenues of Egypt. With regard to the mode of levying, I say, it is notorious that arbitrary imposts and fixed duties are in every country two distinct things, and that this distinction arises from its being necessary to settle the imposts according to the state of the population, and the position of the countries, and according to the state of affairs and the operations of individuals. It is for this reason that the whole system observed in the parts of the empire situated in Asia and in Europe, could not be enforced in the parts of the empire situated in Africa, wherefore I pray to be exempted from this also.

The condition of setting apart for the Sublime Porte the fourth part of the revenues, previously to deducting from them any expenditure, is one which it is impossible to comply with; and this is proved by the fact that, even the Great Powers do not derive, I do not say a fourth part of the

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revenues, but even much less than that, from numerous parts of their kingdoms which they have placed in the most flourishing condition possible, and the population of which are in easy and tranquil circumstances. In this respect, as under all circumstances, I have recourse to the equity and sovereign power of his Imperial Majesty, our Lord and Master, whose mind is illuminated by divine inspiration; and I supplicate him to be pleased to shew clemency towards these people, who for a number of years have suffered so much from events brought on by the force of circumstances, and who deserve to enjoy repose and tranquillity under the auspices of his Highness. I beseech, therefore, his Highness, that, agreeably to his sovereign goodness, he will be pleased to protect the inhabitants of these countries, by relieving them from an extremely burdensome condition which would increase their sufferings.

In consideration of my sincerity and of my devotion, I think that, under existing circumstances, I ought to be excused from payments for two or three years. Employing in that case all my efforts to cause the prosperity of this fair

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possession of his Imperial Majesty, I will endeavour to ensure the repose and tranquillity of the inhabitants, and to cause them to bless the name of his Highness the Sultan our Lord and Master, and to render essential service by making a portion of his dominions prosperous and flourishing. But to what purpose? The difference of opinion complicates the business. Be that as it may, reckoning on my great frankness and on my perfect devotion, I do not despair of seeing, at length, opinions agreed with respect to myself. Meanwhile, of the conditions in question I have accepted the following.

In time of peace, the number of Egyptian troops shall not exceed 18,000 men.

No new vessel of war shall be built without the permission of his Highness.

The Imperial money which shall be coined in Egypt shall resemble, in respect to weight, alloy, and shape, the Imperial money which shall be coined at Constantinople.

It shall be forbidden to make inroads, as was heretofore occasionally the case, into the villages of Nigritia, in which men and women were carried off, and young persons, who were made

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eunuchs,— a state which is an impediment to procreation.

The land and sea forces, soldiers and officers, shall be dressed as the Imperial troops: their flags shall be altogether the same.

These conditions will be executed in conformity with the sovereign will.

There is only this to be said with regard to the clothing; that the inhabitants of these countries are not accustomed to it, and that it would be impossible to effect a change all at once. It is necessary to proceed gently, and to accustom them to it by degrees. But, please God, the will of his Highness shall be done in this respect also.

In accepting without hesitation the conditions above enumerated, I have given a sufficient proof of my frankness and of the sincerity of my devotion. Wherefore, when your Highness shall have made yourself acquainted with my excuses for not accepting the other conditions,— excuses which I have explained above,— it will be an act of clemency worthy of his Imperial Majesty to relieve me of those conditions or to modify them.

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SAID MUHIB EFFENDI TO THE SUBLIME PORTE.

(TRANSLATION.)

5 Moharrem, 1257 :
February 27, 1841.

On Saturday about two o'clock,* the seventh day after my departure from Constantinople, after a favourable passage, I entered the port of Alexandria, where the packet came to an anchor.

Zeki Effendi came to salute me and to compliment me on my arrival, in the name of the Governor of Egypt, his Highness Mehemet Ali Pacha.

We were preparing to land together, when another person came from his Highness to ask whether the Imperial firman was to be read here or at Cairo? I replied, that the firman ought, in the first place, to be read here, and then at Cairo, and that it should afterwards be made known to the public. In consequence of my reply, Zeki Effendi told me to wait an hour or

* About eight o'clock in the morning.

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two, in order that a guard and band of music might be prepared; and he left us to return on shore, telling me that he would return to inform me what there would be to do.

About five o'clock Zeki Effendi returned with the boat of his Highness; he told me that the guards and the band were ready; that his Highness awaited me, and that we might depart. I asked him whether the firman was going to be read? He replied, "No: it is necessary that his Highness should see it first." I therefore landed in his Highness's boat, accompanied by my assistant Shefig Bey. When I disembarked at the landing-place, the vessels which, under the auspices of the Sultan, his Highness possesses, and which were in the harbour, were decorated with flags. Cannon were fired in token of joy and gratitude; and a company of marines, the officers of which were in full uniform, with the band at their head, came to meet me.

At length, when I presented myself to the Pacha, his Highness, after a conversation on indifferent matters, having asked me for the firman of which I was the bearer, I delivered it to him very respectfully.

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His Highness first of all made me read the letter of the Grand Vizier, and then the firman respecting the hereditary dignity; after which he said to me, "The publication of the conditions which this firman contains must cause great disorders in such a country as this." I answered him, that far from the publication of this firman giving rise to disorders, it is in itself a striking favour, which all the people and those who may hear it will have cause to be proud of; and, in conformity with my instructions, I made every use I could of my language and my judgment to bring him to a better way of thinking, by making encouraging statements and using the necessary menaces; and I represented to him that the nature of this affair required that the firman should be read in a solemn assembly, and made known to the public. The Pacha replied, "May God preserve our Padishah and benefactor! I am the slave of the Sultan. I cannot shew him sufficient gratitude for the favour of which I have just been the object; and it is my duty to execute promptly all his orders. But as the reading of this firman publicly presents some inconvenience at the present moment, we will

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talk about it afterwards, and we will see what there is to be done." I then told him that the conditions in question have been agreed upon with the concurrence of the High Allied Courts; that the will of his Highness is positive in this respect, and that the hereditary government depends upon these conditions. But as his Highness had said that we should see about all that afterwards, Sami Bey, who was also present, taking up the conversation, said, "The Effendi is tired with his voyage; will your Highness permit him to go and repose?" At these words the meeting broke up, and I repaired to the house of Sami Bey, which had been assigned to me.

On Monday I went again to the Pacha. "How do you do, my son?" asked his Highness. "Are you well? Have you rested?" To these questions I answered, "I am at ease, because, thanks to God, the quarrels and the differences which have been so long protracted, being now about to cease under the auspices of his Imperial Majesty, there is no longer any schism, any division. Nevertheless, the sentiments which your Highness expressed the other day tending to

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shew that some of the conditions in question would not suit you, and that it is not expedient to read the imperial firman publicly, have grieved me excessively."

"My son," replied the Pacha, "the reading of the firman publicly is subject to a number of inconveniences. In the first place I ask, How can Egypt be governed with that number of troops?"—"Thanks to God, there are no longer any troubles of any kind in Egypt; and that number of troops has been deemed sufficient for the defence of the country."—"Very well, very well! But this country is the key of Africa, perhaps even the key of Constantinople. And although there are no disturbances here, it is the interest of the Sublime Porte that there should be a large amount of troops in Egypt; for when they are required, as in case of a war, I should be able to send the number of troops I might be asked for and ordered to send."—"It is, indeed, meet that your Highness should render these kind of services to the Sublime Porte; and it is what we expect."—"But suppose even, which God forbid, that any event should take place in Africa, what then?"—"Then, as soon as it

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shall have been made known to the Sublime Porte, and that its authority shall have been asked to raise the number of fresh troops which may be judged necessary, no doubt the Sublime Porte will grant that permission, and will give the necessary assistance according to the urgency of the case. The number of troops, such as it has been fixed, is sufficient."—"Since the Sublime Porte is to grant me the permission which I may ask for in case of need, and that it will give me its assistance, that which you say is reasonable; and the number now fixed appears in truth sufficient for the defence of the province of Egypt. Thus I shall discharge the men who are not fit for service from the troops which may arrive from Syria and from those which are now here; and, carrying the will of the Sultan into execution in this respect, I will not employ more troops than the number which has been fixed; and at all times when troops may be required, and that I shall be asked for them, I shall take care to equip them, and I shall hasten to send them to whatever place they may be required at."

Such is the engagement taken by his Highness. With regard to the fleet existing in Egypt,

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inasmuch as it forms a portion of the Imperial fleet, the Pacha has given his word positively, that, in like manner as with the land forces, whenever the Porte shall require a certain number of vessels, or all the fleet, he will not fail to send such a number of vessels as he may have been called upon to furnish, and even the whole fleet, at its full complement. That he gives up the right of building a larger number of vessels; and that he will not cause a new vessel to be built to replace any one that may be unfit to go to sea, without having obtained the permission of the Sublime Porte.

The Pacha also engaged to conform to what is prescribed by the firman with respect to the coinage, and to cause the money to be coined according to the patterns which will be sent to him from the Imperial mint.

The Pacha asked, "How can the soldiers be changed once in every five years, as it is stated in the firman and in the code of Imperial regulations?" — "Considering that the soldiers composing the Imperial regular troops are for a long time removed from their native country and their families, and that sometimes their affairs

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suffer thereby, it has been settled in the code of regulations by his Highness's order, that those soldiers who may desire it shall be changed out of compassion at the expiration of five years. Now, since Egypt forms a part of the territories of his Highness, since its inhabitants are the subjects of the Sublime Porte, and since the Egyptian troops form a part of the Imperial regular armies, your Highness should take pains to act in this matter according to the sovereign pleasure." — "It is necessary, it is true, that the Egyptian troops should serve according to the code of the Imperial regulations. But the Arabs do not at all resemble the people of Roumelia. A soldier requires at least five years to learn how to march; this being the case, if at the end of every five years they are to be replaced by others, there would no longer be regular troops, but simply irregular troops. You are aware of it yourself: the character of the men of one district of Roumelia differs from that of the men of another district. The soldiers of these parts ought to be replaced once every fifteen years; because, supposing them to be replaced every five years, in that case both agriculture would

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suffer, and the troops will not be really regular troops. In short, I know the state of things in this country perfectly well, and I tell you the plain truth. I am quite justified in this, and I am obliged to beg that I may be favoured on this point. And then the firman says that the Governor of Egypt must not confer a rank above that of Col-Aghassi.* Now, I have hitherto been authorised to confer the rank even of Brigadier-General. How can I do what is now proposed, whilst hitherto I have conferred military rank without having to ask authority for so doing?"

The Pacha having spoken in the above sense, I replied to him in the following manner, "You were in truth authorised heretofore to confer military rank; but the system then followed was good for those times. Now, praise be to God, every thing has changed, and even the Muchirs and the Viziers who are obliged to have Imperial regular troops about them, cannot confer a rank above that of Col-Aghassi, without having previously obtained authority to do so. Now, your troops being looked upon as Imperial regular

* Rank immediately below that of Chef de Bataillon.

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troops, it is flattering to your Highness to ask authority to confer military rank." — "Well, my son, this point is quite insignificant for the Sublime Porte. Servants enjoy different degrees of favour with their masters, according to their deserts. Not to be allowed to do now that which I was allowed to do formerly, is a thing which would do me harm. I must, therefore, indispensably request and entreat to have the authority which I have had hitherto." — "My Lord, why do you say that this point signifies nothing? The regular troops are, so to say, the soul of the Sublime Porte, and it is the duty of all of us to maintain the regulations which relate to them." — "Yes, without doubt it is the duty of all of us to maintain the regulations which relate to them; but I only speak of the authority with which I ought to be invested, as I have already said."

It was in vain that I argued so much on this point; all the means of persuasion failed; that is to say, it was impossible for me to make him accede to the proposition.

I spoke of the mission of one of his sons to Constantinople. "That will be very well," said the Pacha; "but which of them shall I send?

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Shall I send my grandson, Abbas Pacha?" To these questions I replied, "It would be better for your Highness to send one of your sons, who should present your respects to his Imperial Majesty and who should make the acquaintance of the Ministers of the Sublime Porte; which will please his Highness." — "That being the case, as my son Said Bey is a well-informed young man, who speaks Persian, Arabic, French, and English, and who is a skilful sailor, I will send him next spring, if it pleases God, to Constantinople, accompanied by Sami Bey."

"The firman which makes mention of the hereditary succession," added the Pacha, "says, that whenever, by the will of God, there shall be a vacancy in the government of Egypt, the Sublime Porte shall choose one of the members of my family, and shall summon him to Constantinople, in order that he may be there named Governor of the Province of Egypt. But it is evident that such an arrangement will give rise to dissensions, and, perhaps, even to a war between the members of my family. I will not, as long as I live, expose my family to such misfortunes; because, in fact, if the youngest were

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named Governor while the eldest is in existence, this would cause a coldness to spring up between them which would evidently in the long run degenerate into dissensions and troubles."

"God having given to every man a greater or less degree of cleverness and judgment, each member of your family will also have more or less capacity; now, if the government of Egypt is given to that one of the members of the family who manifests the greatest disposition to govern well, and that one governs with the wisdom and judgment with which he is endowed, the tranquillity and repose of your family is hereby ensured. The Sublime Porte has reflected on this more than your Highness has done, and in this respect also the sovereign will is such as I state it to be."—"No, no, the great will not obey the little; there will be dissensions and quarrels among the members of the family, who will end by being all dispersed; which is as clear as day. When God shall be pleased to give a vacancy, how can it then at once be known who among the members of my family is the most capable of governing?"—"My Lord, your family is not to be compared with other families; it is known,

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celebrated, and consequently every one of its members is well known at the Sublime Porte, as well as by their Excellencies the Ministers, your colleagues."

The above is what I answered to the Pacha, but his Highness rejoined, "It is not possible to discern all at once which of the members of the family is the most capable. In a word, henceforward when, by the permission of Heaven, the post of Governor shall have become vacant, the eldest of my family, who shall be pronounced capable of being Governor, must be proposed in a petition on the part of all the notables of Egypt, the Ulemas, and the persons who are in my family and in my department; and after that the Sublime Porte shall comply with their request, confer the government upon him, and summon him to Constantinople for that purpose." God knows that I employed all the reasoning possible to convince him; but the Pacha only repeated these same arguments. In short, he concluded by saying, that he cannot, during his lifetime, leave his family in danger, and that he will entreat his Highness to grant his request.

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When I spoke to the Pacha of sending a fourth part of the revenues of Egypt to the Imperial treasury, as that is expressly stated in the firman regarding the hereditary dignity, his Highness replied, "The established revenues of Egypt cannot meet the current expenses. If it is asked how so many expenses are paid, I answer that they are paid out of the produce of the farms which I, and my sons, and my grandsons, possess, under his Highness's auspices, and out of what is produced by commerce. I do not know what can be said to that."—"If a quarter of the revenue of Egypt is sent to the Imperial treasury, the third and the two-thirds of the remainder are certainly enough to meet the expenses of your Highness; and there is perhaps even too much, because, according to the sovereign will, you have reduced the army, and you are no longer to build new ships of war."—"My son, you understand me very well; but I think you wish to drive me to extremities."—"God preserve me from so doing! Why do you attribute bad intentions to me? The payment of a quarter of the revenues to the Sublime Porte is a condition attached to the hereditary dignity, a point

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agreed upon by common consent with the High Allied Courts, and the will of his Highness is positive in this respect. Therefore, it is for your own interests and for those of your family that I hold this language. To reject this condition, which God forbid, or any one of the other conditions, is to give occasion for a fresh effusion of blood, which is a terrible thing. For my part, I speak sincerely to your Highness. You will act as you think fit."—"It is not that I wish to shew hesitation or opposition. The High Allied Powers, our friends, possess discretion; they know what justice is; they do not employ coercion where it would be unjust to do it. They will understand, judging the matter equitably, that when the fourth part of its revenue goes out of a country, that country is ruined. This province is a possession of the Sublime Porte; whether it be flourishing or ruined, either of these situations nearly affects that empire. Finally, this condition is quite above my powers: it is an impracticable condition."—"My Lord, up to this moment the Sublime Porte has not granted the hereditary succession to any of its servants. It is, therefore, so to say, your High-

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ness's duty, congratulating yourself thereon, to offer every year, as the Sultan requires, the fourth part of the revenues of this country to the Imperial treasury, as a mark of gratitude for that favour: the Sultan has a right to that."—"Both I and the country belong to the Sultan —I refuse nothing; but I see no moderation herein which should induce me to shew myself disposed to do so. And even supposing I were to obey the sovereign orders, the money cannot be paid, and you will say, 'Do you see, Mehemet Ali is again placing himself in opposition.' In truth, I cannot say yes; I shall do a thing which is out of my power. I make known the real state of the case, and I beg to be favoured in this respect on the part of his Highness."—"But, my Lord, the revenues of the province of Egypt are known to all the world, and the demand of a fourth part of those revenues is a moderate demand. Your Highness will not henceforward have too great expenses to incur; but even supposing that any thing should happen which should require great expenses, your Highness can come to an understanding thereupon with the Sublime Porte."

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In the three or four interviews which I had with the Pacha, I tried to persuade him that it would be highly expedient that he should take the engagement in question, because he would thus have rendered service to the Imperial treasury, which would have been a subject of content for all the ministers of the Sublime Porte; and I told him many things to the above effect. But, far from listening to me, he repeated the same objections and insisted on them. I said again to him, "My Lord, I have ventured to importune you by telling you so many things for your own good and for that of your family; all this has had no result. Well, then! let your Highness make known precisely your intentions and wishes to the Sublime Porte, and we will see what answer will arrive."—"I am the servant and the slave of the Sultan our master; I will write the plain truth, to which I will add my entreaty: their Excellencies the Ministers of the Sublime Porte know what justice is."

As after all this any thing which I might have said would have had no effect, I determined to hold my tongue and to break up the interview.

When we put forward the questions of dress,

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of the flags of vessels, the standards of the troops, and other regulations: "But, my friend," said the Pacha, "the uniforms of the troops of some powers differ from each other. There are three sorts of uniform in the Russian troops. What harm is there in that? Each power has its system and its regulations. This is not the place for discussing them."—"I will only say, that since your Highness is one of the most illustrious Viziers of the empire, since Egypt also is a portion of that empire, and as your Highness is well aware it has become the custom, so to say, for the Viziers and inhabitants of Turkey to dress like the ministers and functionaries at Constantinople, it is essential that your Highness should adapt every one of your systems and of your regulations to those of the Sublime Porte."—"It is very well, my son; I, for my part, do not oppose myself thereto; I also am desirous of adopting the established uniform; but the people here are a little more difficult to deal with than those elsewhere. The change of dress is really one of those things which ought to be brought about by degrees; trust to me, and I will do the needful in due time; that is to say, I will cause every one to change his costume. As for the

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flag of the ships of war, it is exactly the same as that of the ships of the Imperial fleet; only the standards of the troops have hitherto been white; whenever patterns shall be sent from Constantinople, I will cause similar ones to be made."

I caused the Pacha to take the above engagements.

The Pacha said to me, "According to the same equitable principles upon which the new reforms are based, every one here is sure of his property and of his life; and all exert their care and attention to act accordingly upon these essential points. There is only the assessment of the taxes, which cannot be adapted in a country like this to the system established by the reforms; because, together with the tenths, an annual tax is levied on the inhabitants known by the name of 'hradjiye,' the amount of which in money depends upon the extent of land which each person possesses. 'Hradjiye' is properly the rent of those lands; nothing more is taken under the head of taxes. These countries cannot in any way be assimilated to the countries of Roumelia. Suppose that it is wished to abolish the ancient system in order to substitute a new one in its place;

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well then, in that case, considering the singular character of the Arabs, the ancient system would be entirely disorganised, and that in the end would have caused disorder. Thus, let the Sublime Porte trust to the view I take for arranging such matters."

This is what the Pacha finished by saying to me.

I represented to the Pacha that his Highness wishes the first regiment of the line of the Imperial Marines, as well as the militia of the province of Broussa, to be sent back entirely to Constantinople from whatever quarter they may be in. "These regiments had been sent into Syria. Up to this moment no portion of these troops is returned hither. It is supposed that some men from these regiments have become 'Cavasses,' and that the greatest part of the others are gone from Beyrout to Constantinople. The Colonel of the militia, Yadighiar Hassan Bey, is alone come into Egypt with Ibrahim Pacha. If hereafter any soldiers belonging to these regiments should arrive here, I will immediately send them to Constantinople in conformity to the sovereign pleasure."

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According to the instructions which I had received, I used all my efforts, as God knows, to fulfil my mission conformably to the wishes of the Sublime Porte; but the Pacha, putting forward the inconveniences which exist, according to his views, respecting the fourth part of the revenues and the succession in his family, did not acquiesce in these points. It was with great difficulty I made him take the engagement to reduce his troops, to build no more ships without having obtained permission to do so, to coin money in the manner pointed out, and to do the other things as his Highness wishes. In speaking of his family I also said to him, "Your Highness wishes that the succession should, as an established condition, descend in the order of primogeniture; but there are inconveniences in this. And among others, the former Begler Bey of Tripoli in Barbary, Mustapha Pacha, son of Youssouf Pacha, not having been capable of governing, the country was a prey to disorders, and another Governor was at length named and sent by the Sublime Porte to Tripoli. Now Egypt is one of the most important provinces of the empire. That being the case, and consider-

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ing that what may happen in the course of time is not known, the Sublime Porte, which thinks of every thing, has considered the course which has been adopted to be expedient."—"Effendi, my son, you are right; but my children being men of information, men of sense, such an inconvenience is not to be feared."—"It is true, Highness, that your sons who now exist are sensible and judicious men; but in the course of generations, the government of Egypt may devolve upon a man without judgment, and then, which God forbid, the province may be expected to be in disorder, disunion to exist in your family, and other evils to arise which at this moment do not present themselves to the mind. History affords us a number of instances of such things having happened formerly. Perhaps your Highness even has been witness to similar events which nearly affect the Sublime Porte."—"This country belongs to the Sublime Porte. If the government of this country should fall into the hands of an incapable person, the Sublime Porte would know it, it would be informed thereof even from hence; and as it will not leave the country in disorder, there will be no kind of difficulty

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in its conferring the government of the province upon a worthy subject, and it has the right to do so."

This is what the Pacha ended by saying, in consequence of which I drew up and divided into paragraphs the present report, which contains only a third part of my discussions with Mehemet Ali; I send it, together with a letter from his Highness to his Highness the Grand Vizier, and I shall await at Alexandria the reply of the Sublime Porte.

NOTE FROM THE PLENIPOTENTIARIES

Of Austria, Great Britain, Prussia, and Russia, to Chekib Effendi.

(TRANSLATION.)

London, May 10, 1841.

The undersigned, Plenipotentiaries of the Courts of Austria, Great Britain, Prussia, and Russia, have had the honour to receive the note dated the 27th of April, by which his Excellency Chekib Effendi, Ambassador of the Sublime Porte,

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on communicating to them the instructions with which he has just been furnished, has been pleased to appeal to the concurrence of the Allied Powers, in order to smooth away the difficulties which have arisen relative to the interpretation of some of the provisions contained in the firmans published on the 13th of February last, on the subject of the definitive arrangement of the affairs of Egypt.

The provisions, in regard to which the Sublime Porte has desired to know the opinion of the four Allied Courts, resolve themselves into the three following points:—

1°. The question of hereditary succession.

2°. The settlement of the tribute.

3°. The military promotions.

The general rules which serve to solve these three questions were determined in principle by the Convention which the Sublime Porte concluded on the 15th of July, 1840, with the Courts of Austria, Great Britain, Prussia, and Russia.

It is to the principles, therefore, which were laid down in that act, that the undersigned have deemed it to be their duty to refer in the communications which they have had the honour

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successively to address to the Ottoman ambassador, specifically in their notes of the 30th of January and of the 13th of March. Resting on the same basis, the undersigned, in order to comply with the wish expressed by his Excellency Chekib Effendi, hasten to offer to him the following explanations:—

1°. *The Question of Hereditary Succession.*

The Sultan, in carrying into effect the intention which his Highness had manifested from the commencement of the crisis in the Levant, has formally announced his determination to maintain hereditarily the administration of the Pachalic of Egypt in the family of Mehemet Ali, so long as he and his descendants shall render themselves worthy of that favour by faithfully fulfilling the conditions which are attached to it.

This principle, once lawfully laid down by the sovereign authority of the Sultan, it only remains to settle the manner in which the post of Governor of Egypt shall be transmitted from one member of the family of Mehemet Ali to the other.

Now, it has been laid down that this transmis-

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sion shall be effected by means of the investiture which the Sultan shall grant to the new incumbent.

In conformity with this principle, his Highness, in reinstating Mehemet Ali in his functions as Governor of Egypt, has been pleased to address to him the firman of the 13th of February.

Moreover, by a special disposition which the Sultan has thought fit to communicate to his Allies, that Sovereign has relieved Mehemet Ali from proceeding to Constantinople to receive in that capital the investiture of his Pachalic.

At the same time, his Highness has been pleased to declare that he equally relieved Ibrahim Pacha from coming to Constantinople, when he should be called upon to replace Mehemet Ali in the functions of Pacha; and that the firman of investiture should at that time be sent to him in Egypt.

By adopting this arrangement, such as it has been communicated to the Allied Courts, the Sublime Porte has itself indicated the mode in which his Highness proposed to provide for the administration of the Pachalic of Egypt hereditarily in the family of Mehemet Ali.

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According, then, to that mode, and in conformity with the usages established in the Ottoman empire, it is Ibrahim Pacha, who, as the eldest of the family, is eventually called upon to succeed Mehemet Ali in the post of Governor of Egypt.

In pursuance of the same rule, the eldest of the family after Ibrahim Pacha will be considered as destined to replace Ibrahim in the office of Governor of the Pachalic of Egypt.

Such is the general rule which the Plenipotentiaries of the Allied Courts consider to be best adapted to the interests of the Sublime Porte, and the most analogous to the usages established in the Ottoman empire.

In thus replying to the appeal which the Ottoman ambassador has just addressed to them, by order of his government, they have deemed it to be their duty to record that the nomination to the post of Governor of Egypt belongs exclusively to his Highness; that this right is exercised and made manifest on each occasion by the investiture conferred on the new incumbent; finally, that this investiture, granted by the authority of the Sovereign, constitutes the title in virtue of which

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each new Governor will be called upon to administer Egypt, in the name of his Highness, as a province forming an integral portion of the Ottoman empire.

2°. *The Settlement of the Tribute.*

The Separate Act annexed to the Convention of the 15th of July has not determined the amount of the tribute.

It has only laid down in principle:

That the tribute should be annually paid to the Porte;

That it should be proportioned to the extent of the territory of which the administration should be confided to Mehemet Ali;

That, on condition that the tribute is *regularly* paid, the Pacha of Egypt should receive, in the name of the Sultan, and as the delegate of his Highness, the taxes and duties lawfully established;

Finally, that in consideration of the receipt of these duties, the Pacha of Egypt shall provide for all the expenses of the civil and military administration of the said Pachalic.

In thus reciting these arrangements, which are

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in principle laid down by the Convention of the 15th of July, the Plenipotentiaries of the Courts, parties to that act, would consider that they outstepped the limits of their functions if they were to express a decisive opinion as to the amount of the tribute,—a question of finance relating to the internal administration of the Ottoman empire, which the undersigned, as they have already stated in their note of the 13th of March, do not consider to be within their province.

Moreover, as they do not possess the necessary statistical data to serve as a basis for an accurate opinion as to the financial resources of Egypt, they cannot pronounce any opinion as to the amount of annual revenue which the treasury of the Sublime Porte can derive from that province.

Nevertheless, in order, as far as possible, to comply with the wish expressed by his Excellency Chekib Effendi, in the name of the Sublime Porte, they deem it their duty to suggest that, instead of assigning as the tribute to be paid by the Pacha, a certain proportion of the gross revenue of Egypt, it would be preferable, for the real interest of the Porte, to fix the amount of the tribute at a stated sum, which would secure a

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positive receipt to the treasury of his Highness. Nevertheless, considering that the basis on which the amount of that sum would be settled might, in process of time, be subject to variation, it might, perhaps, be advantageous that the nominal amount of the said sum should be subject to revision at the expiration of certain periods.

3°. *The Military Promotions.*

The sixth paragraph of the Separate Act of the Convention of the 15th of July states, that the military and naval forces which may be maintained by the Pacha of Egypt, forming part of the forces of the Ottoman empire, shall always be considered as maintained for the service of the state.

According to this principle, the military forces employed in Egypt being those of his Highness the Sultan, the military and naval officers will only obtain their promotion by the sole authority of the Sultan, to whom the Ottoman army and fleet belong.

Setting out from this principle, which is one of general application, the undersigned can only attach a secondary importance to the difficulty

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which has arisen with respect to the question of military promotion in Egypt. It appertains to the Sultan to delegate, in this respect, the powers which he shall deem it necessary to intrust to the Governors of Egypt, reserving to himself to extend or to restrict those powers according as experience and the wants of the service shall shew the fitness of so doing.

If, in the present note, the undersigned have considered it to be their duty to confine their observations to the three points above mentioned, it is because they have, by their collective notes of the 30th of January, of the 13th of March, and by the protocol of the 5th of March, already pronounced their opinion as to the other conditions contained in the Separate Act annexed to the Convention of the 15th of July, 1840.

Persisting in the views and opinions which they manifested in the said documents, the undersigned deem it their duty to refer thereto. They can only look upon the submission formally made by Mehemet Ali as absolute, and, consequently, the Turco-Egyptian question as terminated.

Henceforward, the undersigned cannot admit

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the supposition, that this Pacha, in gratitude for the pardon which the Sultan has been pleased to grant to him, and for the favours which his Highness has conferred upon him, as well as upon his family, will not keep himself within the bounds of the obedience and submission which are the conditions of that pardon and of those favours.

The plenipotentiaries of the Courts of Austria, Great Britain, Prussia, and Russia, in communicating these observations to his Excellency Chekib Effendi, request him to have the goodness to bring them to the knowledge of his court, as the complement of what is contained in their collective note of the 13th of March last.

The undersigned, &c.

(Signed) Esterhazy. Neumann.
Palmerston.
Bülow.
Brunnow.

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THE ULTIMATE FIRMAN GRANTED TO MEHEMET ALI.

We, the undersigned, representatives of the Four Powers, Allies of the Sublime Porte, declare at its express demand that, having again taken into consideration the draft of the firman of investiture to be sent to the Pacha of Egypt, Mehemet Ali Pacha, we have not found therein any thing which it has appeared to us ought to give occasion for any objection whatever on our part, and that there does not remain, in consequence, any thing for us to ask of it, except that it should forward this firman to its address as quickly as possible.

Done at Emirghian, at the house of his Excellency the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Sublime Porte, Mohammed Refaát Pacha, the 22d of May, 1841.

(Signed) Sturmer.
Ponsonby.
Kœnigsmark.
Titow.

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(TRANSLATION.)

Firman of February 13, 1841.*

The act of submission which thou hast just made, the assurances of fidelity and devotion which thou hast given, and the upright and sincere intentions which thou hast manifested, as well with regard to myself as in the interests of the Sublime Porte, have come to my sovereign knowledge, and have been very agreeable to me.

In consequence, and as the zeal and sagacity by which thou art characterised, as likewise the experience and knowledge which thou hast acquired in the affairs of Egypt during the long space of time that thou hast held the post of Governor of Egypt, give reason to believe that thou hast acquired a title to the favour and to the confidence which I may grant to thee; that is to say, that thou wilt be sensible of their full extent and all the gratitude which thou shouldst have for them, that thou wilt apply thyself to

* All that is not underlined in this firman is in the new firman, and all that is underlined is changed, suppressed, or modified, in the new firman.

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cause these feelings to descend to thy sons and thy posterity, I grant unto thee the government of Egypt within its ancient boundaries, such as they are to be found in the map which is sent unto thee by my Grand Vizier now in office, with a seal affixed to it, together with the additional privilege of hereditary succession, and with the following conditions:

Henceforth, when the post shall be vacant, *the government of Egypt shall be conferred upon that one of thy male children in being whom I may have preferred and selected; and this system shall be equally observed with regard to his male children.*	*New Firman.* the government of Egypt shall descend in a direct line, from the elder to the elder, in the male race among the sons and grandsons. As regards their nomination, that shall be made by my Sublime Porte.

If it shall please Providence at any time that the male line should become extinct, as in that case it will devolve upon my Sublime Porte to confer the government of Egypt on another person; the male children, issue of the daughters of the Governors of Egypt, shall possess no right

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to, no legal capacity for, the succession to the government.

Henceforth that person from among thy children who shall be elected to the Government of Egypt, will have to proceed in person to Constantinople, there to receive investiture of his office.

Although the Pachas of Egypt have obtained the privilege of hereditary succession, they still must be considered, as far as precedency is concerned, to be on a footing of equality with the other Viziers, they shall be treated like the other Viziers of my Sublime Porte, and they shall receive the same titles as are given to the other Viziers when they are written to.

The salutary ordinances proclaimed by my Imperial Hatti Sheriff of Gulhané, all the regulations made and to be made by my Sublime Porte, all the treaties concluded and to be concluded between my Sublime Porte and the

New Firman.

The principles founded on the laws of security of life, of the security of property, and the preservation of honour, principles recorded in the salutary ordinances of my Hatti Sheriff of Gulhané;

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friendly Powers, shall be completely executed in the province of Egypt likewise;

In Egypt all the taxes, all the revenues, shall be levied and collected in my sovereign name; nevertheless, as the Egyptians are likewise the subjects of my Sublime Porte, and in order that they may not one day be oppressed, the tenths, the duties, and the other taxes which are levied there, shall be so *according to the same rules as shall be in force in the other countries of my Sublime Porte.*

From the annual amount of the customs-duties, the tenths, the

New Firman.

and all the regulations made and to be made by my Sublime Porte shall also be put in practice in Egypt, reconciling them in the best way possible with the local circumstances and with the principles of justice and of equity.

in conformity with the equitable system adopted by my Sublime Porte; and care shall be taken to pay, when the period for payment shall arrive, out of the customs-duties, the capitation-

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taxes, and every other species of revenues, there shall be set apart in the first instance, that is to say, without deducting any expense, the fourth part for the account of my Sublime Porte. The other three-fourths are left in order that they may serve to meet the expenses of collection, those of the internal administration, of the military establishments, and for the private treasury of the Pachas of Egypt, and for the payment of the provisions which it is customary to send every year in kind from Egypt to the two Holy Cities.

The amount of tribute which accrues to my Sub-

tax, the tenths, the revenues, and other produce of the province of Egypt, the annual tribute of which the amount is inserted and defined in another Imperial firman.

It being customary to send every year from Egypt provisions in kind to the two Holy Cities, the provisions and other articles, whatever they may be, which have up

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lime Porte, and the mode of collection, are to be in force for five years, commencing from the year 1257 (*February*, 1841); | to this time been sent to each place separately shall continue to be sent thither.

after that it shall be lawful to make in that respect better arrangements according to the future condition of Egypt, and the exigencies of the times; seeing that it is incumbent upon my Sublime Porte to know exactly the real amount of the annual revenues, and the mode of levying the tenths and other duties to be raised from the inhabitants; and considering that this knowledge can hardly be obtained except by the establishment of an office of control, measures shall be taken in conformity with the orders which I shall give in that respect.

As my Sublime Porte has taken the resolution of improving the coin, which is the soul of the operations of society, and of taking measures so that henceforth there can be no variation either in the alloy or in the value, I grant permission for money to be coined in Egypt; but the gold and silver monies which I permit thee to coin shall bear my name, and shall resemble in all respects, as regards their determination,

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value, and form, the monies which are coined here.

In time of peace, 18,000 men will suffice for the internal service of the province of Egypt; it shall not be allowed to increase their numbers. But as the land and sea forces of Egypt are raised for the service of my Sublime Porte, it shall be allowable, in time of war, to increase them to the number which shall be deemed suitable by my Sublime Porte.

The principle has been adopted that the soldiers employed in the other parts of my dominions shall serve for five years, at the end of which term they shall be exchanged for recruits. *That being the case, it is necessary that in this respect the same system should also be followed in Egypt. Consequently, it will be necessary to form out of the soldiers the most recently incorporated into the Egyptian troops* 20,000 *men, to whom the*

New Firman.

That being the case, it would be requisite that the same system should also be observed in Egypt in that respect. But with regard to the duration of the service, the dispositions of the people shall be attended to, at the same time that what is required by equity is

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principal of the period of service, reckoning from the day of their first entrance into it, shall hereafter be applied. Of this corps, 18,000 *men shall be employed for the internal service of Egypt, and the* 2000 *shall be employed here. And as the fifth part of these* 20,000 *men will have to be replaced every year, there shall be taken every year from the population of Egypt, by legal ballot, having regard to my humane feelings, and observing the most perfect impartiality,* 4000 *men;* 3600 *of whom shall be retained in Egypt, and the* 400 *sent to Constantinople. The soldiers who shall have been the first to enter the service, either here or there, and who shall have completed their fifth year of service, shall be dismissed to their respective countries, and those who shall have once completed the term of service shall not be again enlisted.*

observed with regard to them.

Four hundred men shall be sent every year to Constantinople to replace others.

There may be a difference, on account of the climate, in the stuff of which the clothing of the troops of Egypt shall be made, but there must be none either in the uniform, or in the shape of

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the clothes, or in the distinguishing marks of rank, or in the flags, between the aforesaid troops and the troops of my Sublime Porte.

The troops to be employed on board the Egyptian vessels, officers and soldiers, shall have altogether the same clothing and the same distinguishing marks of their ranks as the troops of this place; the vessels shall carry the same flag as those of this place.

The Governor of Egypt shall appoint the officers of the land and sea forces up to the rank of *Col-Agassi, the rank immediately below that of Chef de Bataillon.* With regard to the appointments

New Firman.

There shall be no difference between the distinguishing marks and the flags of the troops which shall be employed there, and the distinguishing marks and the flags of the other troops of my Sublime Porte. The officers of the Egyptian navy shall have the same distinguishing marks of ranks, and the Egyptian vessels shall have the same flags, as the officers and vessels of this place.

Colonel.

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to ranks higher than that of *Col-Agassi*, it will be absolutely necessary to apply for permission for them, and to take my orders thereupon.

New Firman.

Colonel, that is to say, of Pachas *Miri livi* (Brigadier-Generals), and of Pachas Ferik (Generals of Division).

Henceforth the Pachas of Egypt shall not be at liberty to build vessels of war without having first applied for the permission of my Sublime Porte, and having obtained from it a clear and positive authority.

As each of the conditions settled as above is annexed to the privilege of hereditary succession, if a single one of them is not executed, that privilege of hereditary succession shall forthwith be abolished and annulled.

Such being my supreme pleasure on all the points above specified, thou, thy children, and thy descendants, grateful for this exalted sovereign favour, ye shall be diligent in scrupulously executing the conditions laid down; ye shall take heed not to infringe them; ye shall be careful to ensure the repose and the tranquillity of the Egyptians by protecting them from all injury and from all oppressions; ye shall report to this

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place; and ye shall apply for orders on all matters of importance which concern those countries, it being for these purposes that the present Imperial Firman, which is decorated with my Imperial Order, has been written, and is sent to you.

FIRMAN ADDRESSED TO MEHEMET ALI.

(TRANSLATION.)

Thou Vizier above-mentioned,—As thou hast been confirmed in the Government of Egypt with hereditary succession, on the absolute conditions inserted in another firman, my sovereign will is that thou shouldst pay annually to my Sublime Porte, out of the customs-duties, the tenths, and the capitation-tax, and out of the other revenues and produce of that province, a tribute of 80,000 purses;* that in order that the amount of tribute may not vary, since the value of money changes, the sum of 80,000 purses should be calculated according to the value of the Spanish pillared

* 80,000 purses, or 40,000,000 Turkish piastres, amounting at present to about 363,635*l.* sterling.

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dollars which have currency in Egypt; and that the actual amount of pillared dollars should be paid every year in kind, or at all events its equivalent be paid in other good coins. Such are my orders, in consequence whereof the present Imperial firman has been written and sent.

Thus, when thou shalt have been apprized hereof, thou wilt act in the manner above-mentioned; and thou wilt be careful to pay to the Imperial treasury, when the time for payment shall arrive, the tribute above stated.

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APPENDIX.

HONORARY DISTINCTIONS CONFERRED ON SIR ROBERT STOPFORD.

No. 1.

FROM HIS IMPERIAL MAJESTY THE SULTAN OF TURKEY.

Translation of a Letter from His Excellency Refaát Pacha, Minister of Foreign Affairs at Constantinople, to the Honourable Admiral Sir Robert Stopford, &c. &c.

To his Excellency, the intelligent and sage, the highly ranked and esteemed, our intimate friend, Admiral Stopford, Commander of the British fleet in the White Sea (Mediterranean). While I was watching a fit opportunity to confirm to you the high esteem and veneration which I have sincerely entertained for you ever since the personal acquaintance that was so auspiciously formed between us, I have had the gratification to address to you, previously to this, a letter announcing to you how perfectly

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satisfied and highly pleased was his Imperial Majesty the Sultan, at the personal exertions and zeal shewn by you on the occasion of the arrangement and happy termination of the Egyptian question; and that, out of his sincere regard towards you personally, his Imperial Majesty was pleased to order an imperial *Nishân* of honour and merit, and a sword, with its handle studded with jewels, to be prepared and sent to you as a mark and a remembrance of his Imperial Majesty's particular esteem and consideration for you. These said *Nishân* and Sword having been completed, and being now forwarded towards your Excellency, I take this pleasing opportunity again, in announcing to you their conveyance, to repeat and confirm my sincere sense of friendship and high consideration for you.

(Signed) MOHAMMED SADICH REFAÂT,
Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Sublime Ottoman Porte.

(Sealed) MOHAMMED REFAÂT.

(Dated) *The 15th of Shâbân*, 1257 A.H.; *viz. 2d October*, 1841, A.D.

Translated, London, 5th November, 1841.

A. N. SALAMÉ.

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No. 2.

MONSIEUR L'AMIRAL,—La brillante campagne que les forces maritimes réunies de sa Majesté la Reine de la Grande Bretagne et de sa Majesté l'Empereur d'Autriche viennent de faire sur les côtes de la Syrie, sous le commandement et la sage direction de votre Excellence, a terminé le conflit qui depuis si long tems s'était élevé dans l'Empire Turc. Le but de notre alliance ayant été atteint, et la réunion de la flotte n'ayant plus d'objet, M. le Contre-Amiral Bandiera a reçu l'ordre de reprendre sa croisière pacifique dans le Lévant, telle qu'elle existait avant.

Au moment ou il va se séparer de la flotte Anglaise, je reçois l'ordre de l'Empereur, mon maître, de dire à votre Excellence que sa Majesté a éprouvé la plus véritable satisfaction de l'emploi que vous aviez su faire de l'escadre qu'elle avait confiée à votre commandement. Sa Majesté vous remercie particulièrement, Monsieur l'Amiral, de la part de gloire qu'elle a acquise et des bons rapports que vous avez toujours entretenus avec son commandement.

Je suis heureux d'avoir à m'acquitter près de

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votre Excellence des ordres de sa Majesté l'Empereur, et je saisis cette occasion pour avoir l'honneur de vous prier d'agréer l'assurance de ma haute considération.

(Signé) METTERNIC.

Vienne, ce 10 *Mars*, 1841.

A son Excellence
Monsieur l'Amiral Stopford, C.C.C.

No. 2.*

FROM THE EMPEROR OF AUSTRIA.

Vienne, ce 19 *Janvier*, 1841.

MONSIEUR L'AMIRAL, — L'Empereur, mon auguste Maître, a ressenti la plus vive satisfaction du succès brillant des opérations que la flotte de sa Majesté Britannique réunie à l'Escadre Autrichienne a executées en dernier lieu sur les côtes de la Syrie sous votre sage et valoreux commandement, et pour vous en donner une témoignage ostensible, sa Majesté Impériale a

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daigné vous conférer, Monsieur l'Amiral, la Croix de Commandeur de son Ordre Militaire de Marie Thérèse.

J'ai, en conséquence, reçu, en ma qualité de Chancelier du dit Ordre, l'agréable injunction de vous transmettre la décoration susmentionnée, que j'ai l'honneur de joindre ci-près en vous priant d'accepter en même temps mes sincères félicitations d'une distinction si hautement méritée.

En vous demandant, conformément aux statuts de l'Ordre, un revers par lequel vos héritiers seront tenus de restituer à l'époque de votre decès, que je désire bien reculée, la décoration en question ; il ne me reste ici qu'à vous offrir encore, Monsieur l'Amiral, les assurances de ma considération la plus distinguée.

Le Chancelier de Cour et d'Etat de Sa Majesté I. et R.A. et Chancelier de l'Ordre Militaire de Marie Thérèse.

(Signé) METTERNIC.

Sir Robert Stopford, C.C.C.

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No. 3.

From the King of Prussia.

Sir,—His Majesty the King of Prussia, my august Master, wishing to give you a mark of his particular esteem, and of his unqualified approbation of the eminent services you have rendered in the execution of the Treaty of the 15th of July last, has conferred upon you his Order of the Red Eagle of the First Class. The permission to accept and wear the same having been graciously granted by her Majesty, your august Sovereign, I hasten to transmit to you the Insignia of the Order; and in so doing, I beg to assure you that nothing can be more pleasing to my own feelings than to be permitted to participate in these expressions of high regard towards you, and to tender my congratulations upon the signal success of your efforts.

In order to record your honourable name and profession, the Chapter of the Order has to request that you will be pleased to return to

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me the accompanying paper of questions with your remarks.

I have the honour to be,
with high consideration,
SIR,
Your most obedient Servant,
(Signed) BÜLOW.

London, the 27th of February, 1841.

To Admiral the Honourable Sir Robert Stopford, G.C.B. &c. &c. &c.

No. 4.

FROM THE EMPEROR OF RUSSIA.

St. Petersburg, the 22d of May, 1841.

SIR,—The letter which your Excellency has done me the honour of writing to me from Malta, dated the 15th of March, concerning your reception of the Military Order of St. George of the second class, I took the first opportunity of laying before the Emperor, my most gracious Sovereign; and his Imperial Majesty has very kindly received the expressions of your gratitude.

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As only true merit, together with high military deeds, gives right to obtain this Order, the number of Knights who wear it is necessarily very small. The eminent services rendered by you to the European cause have given you that right which his Majesty the Emperor has known how to appreciate.

I have the honour to be,

SIR,

Your most obedient, humble Servant,

(Signed) PRINCE ALEXANDER GALITZINE,

High Chancellor of the Russian Imperial and Royal Orders, &c.

To His Excellency Sir Robert Stopford, Admiral of Her Britannic Majesty, &c.

No. 4*.

(TRADUCTION.)

PAR LE GRACE DE DIEU, NOUS NICOLAS PREMIER, EMPEREUR ET AUTOCRATE DE TOUTES LES RUSSIES, ETC. ETC. ETC. À L'AMIRAL STOPFORD, DE S. M. BRITANNIQUE.

DÉSIRANT vous témoigner notre haute bienveillance pour les faits d'armes et pour les ser-

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vices signales que votre zèle a rendus à la cause de notre alliance avec S. M. le Sultan, nous vous avons nommé Chevalier de notre Ordre de St. Georges de 2de classe.

En vous transmettant ci-joint les insignes de cet Ordre, nous sommes, votre affectionné,

(Signé) NICOLAS.

St. Pétersbourg,
le 16 *Novembre*, 1841, (*L.S.*)

Le Chancelier des Ordres de Russie, Prince Alexandre Galitzine.

No. 5.

LETTER FROM THE LORD HIGH CHANCELLOR TO SIR ROBERT STOPFORD, COMMUNICATING THE RESOLUTIONS OF THE HOUSE OF LORDS, OF THANKS FOR THE LATE SERVICES ON THE COAST OF SYRIA.

SIR,—In compliance with the Order of the House of Lords, of the 4th of February last, I beg to communicate to you the inclosed Resolutions of the House of Lords of the same date, and to request that you will make known the same respectively to the several officers under

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your command, and in co-operation with Her Majesty's Navy in the same service.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient, humble Servant,
COTTENHAM.

House of Lords,
30*th March*, 1841.

No. 5*.

RESOLUTIONS OF THE HOUSE OF LORDS, OF THANKS FOR THE LATE SERVICES ON THE COAST OF SYRIA.

Die Jovis 4°, *February* 1841.

Resolved, *Nemine dissentiente*,—

By the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament assembled, that the Thanks of this House be given to Admiral the Honourable Sir Robert Stopford, Knight Grand Cross of the Most Honourable Military Order of the Bath, for his able and gallant conduct during the operations on the coast of Syria, terminating in the successful and

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decisive attack on the batteries and fortress of Acre on the 3d of November, 1840.

Resolved, *Nemine dissentiente*,—

That the Thanks of this House be given to Commodore Sir Charles Napier, Knight Commander of the Most Honourable Military Order of the Bath, and to the several Captains and Officers of the fleet employed in that arduous service.

Resolved, *Nemine dissentiente*,—

That this House doth acknowledge and highly approve the services of the seamen and Royal Marines serving in the fleet on the coast of Syria.

Resolved, *Nemine dissentiente*,—

That the Thanks of this House be given to Major-General Sir Charles *Felix** Smith, and to the officers of the Royal Artillery and Engineers who served under his command on the Coast of Syria.

* Emendat per ordinem 2 Martij, 1841, by substituting the name "*Felix*" for "*Frederick*," inserted by mistake.

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Resolved, *Nemine dissentiente*,—

That this House doth acknowledge and highly approve the services of the detachment of Royal Artillery and of Royal Sappers and Miners in the fleet appointed for that important service.

Resolved, *Nemine dissentiente*,—

That the Thanks of this House be given to Rear-Admiral Baron de Bandiera, and the Naval Forces of His Majesty the Emperor of Austria, under the Rear-Admiral's command, for their cordial assistance and co-operation in the service on the coast of Syria, and the attack of Acre, on the 3d of November, 1840.

Resolved, *Nemine dissentiente*,—

That the Thanks of this House be given to Admiral Sir Baldwin Wake Walker, Knight Commander of the most Honourable Military Order of the Bath, and the Naval Forces of his Highness the Sultan, for their gallant assistance and co-operation during the service on the coast of Syria, and the attack of Acre, on the 3d of November, 1840.

Ordered,

That the Lord Chancellor do communicate the

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said Resolutions to Admiral the Honourable Sir Robert Stopford, and that he be requested to make known the same to the several officers under his command, and in co-operation with Her Majesty's navy in the said service.

JOHN WILLIAM BIRCH.
Deputy Clerk Parliamentor.

No. 6.

LETTER FROM THE SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS TO SIR ROBERT STOPFORD, COMMUNICATING THE RESOLUTION OF THANKS FOR THE LATE SERVICES ON THE COAST OF SYRIA.

London, February 8, 1841.

Sir,—In obedience to the order of the House of Commons, I have the honour of transmitting to you the inclosed Resolutions:—

The operations which have called forth this gratifying testimony of approbation have been distinguished by the boldness of their design and by the promptitude of their execution. By your prudent and vigorous measures, by the gallantry of the officers, and by the valour of the combined forces under your command, all the important objects contemplated by the Allied

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Powers have been effectually accomplished with inconsiderable loss; and the fortress of Acre, which was impregnable when defended by a British officer, has been subdued in the brief interval of a few hours, and has thus yielded another harvest of glory to the British arms.

I am well aware, sir, that in the early part of your long and distinguished life, you witnessed and shared in those triumphs which established the imperishable renown of our navy. With these triumphs the achievements in Syria may well bear comparison; and their value is enhanced by the consideration that, owing to their rapid and complete success, the blessings of continued peace have been, in all probability, secured to this country and to Europe. Permit me, sir, to assure you of the high gratification I feel in the performance of the duty which the House has imposed upon me on this occasion.

I have the honour to be,

SIR,

Your obedient Servant,

(Signed) CHARLES SHAW LEFEVRE,

Speaker.

Admiral The Honourable Sir R. Stopford, G.C.B. &c. &c. &c.

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No. 6*.

Thanks of the House of Commons.

House of Commons,
Veneris 5°, die Februarii, 1841.

Resolved, *Nemine contradicente,*—

That the Thanks of this House be given to Admiral the Honourable Sir Robert Stopford, Knight Grand Cross of the most Honourable Military Order of the Bath, for his able and gallant conduct during the operations on the coast of Syria, terminating in the successful and decisive attack on the batteries and fortress of Acre, on the 3d day of November, 1840.

Resolved, *Nemine contradicente,*—

That the Thanks of this House be given to Commodore Sir Charles Napier, Knight Commander of the most Honourable Military Order of the Bath, and to the several Captains and Officers of the fleet employed on that arduous service.

Resolved, *Nemine contradicente,*—

That this House doth acknowledge, and highly approve, the services of the Seamen and Royal Marines serving in the fleet on the coast of Syria.

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Resolved, *Nemine contradicente*,—

That the Thanks of this House be given to Rear-Admiral Baron de Bandiera, and the Naval Forces of His Majesty the Emperor of Austria, under the Rear-Admiral's command, for their cordial assistance and co-operation in the service on the coast of Syria, and the attack of Acre, on the 3d day of November, 1840.

Resolved, *Nemine contradicente*,—

That the Thanks of this House be given to Admiral Sir Baldwin Wake Walker, Knight Commander of the most Honourable Military Order of the Bath, and the naval forces of his Highness the Sultan, for their gallant assistance and co-operation during the service on the coast of Syria, and the attack of Acre on the 3d day of November, 1840.

Ordered,—

That Mr. Speaker do communicate the said Resolutions to Admiral the Honourable Sir Robert Stopford; and that he be requested to make known the same to the several officers under his command, and in co-operation with Her Majesty's navy in the said service.

(Signed) J. H. Ley.

Cl. Dom. Com.

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Mr. HUNT OF THE STROMBOLI.

The Midshipman, who so greatly distinguished himself by being the first to plant the Union Jack on the heights at the taking of Sidon, is the eldest son of Mr. James Hunt, the Sheriff of Oxford. His own relation of this gallant exploit, and his account of the proceedings at the brilliant attack upon St. Jean d'Acre, where his conduct was equally creditable to him, as given in the following extracts from letters to his father printed in the "Oxford Herald," the reader, we have no doubt, will feel gratified by perusing:—

"*H.M.S. Stromboli,*
"*Sept.* 26, 1840, *off Beyrout.*

"From Malta we sailed to Alexandria; there were lying there the Egyptian squadron and two line-of-battle ships belonging to us blockading them. We have taken one town. The evening before yesterday we sailed from Alexandria, and arrived off a place called Sidon yesterday morning. We found there the Thunderer (Captain Berkeley), Wasp brig, and we towed in a Turkish frigate and an Austrian, and we had also two steamers. Commodore Napier sent a flag of truce on shore to ask them to give up the town,

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which was refused; and at ten the signal was made to engage; and, of course, as I had the firing of two 32-pound guns to look after, I had very little time to look at what was going on, except to see the effect of my own shot. Our two 10-inch guns fired shell alive, which did dreadful mischief. I had the credit of knocking one of the minarets down. Spence was captain of our 10-inch gun, and got great credit for skill.

"At half-past one the signal was made to land, and we landed with sixteen large boats, about 700 in all, including Turks and Austrians. Now, I must tell you that during the whole cannonade there was no firing from the shore, and, of course, we thought foolishly that the town was evacuated; but we were mistaken. I landed in the second boat with our first lieutenant, and had the honour to be the first to plant the colours on the beach, which I had no sooner done than the boats gave three cheers. The Egyptians then opened a rattling fire on the hands round the colours; and as soon as we could, we formed and charged up the breach. The officer that carried the Austrian colours took advantage of my stumbling with my colours to get up the breach before me; but I was quick up, and we arrived at the top together.

"Unfortunately we were too quick for our men, and the Austrians being too rash, we were, about a dozen in all, left exposed at the top of the breach under a galling fire from loopholes and archways. But, however, I could not, for the honour of England,

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let our colours be behind, so was obliged to dash on. Our marines then, seeing our colours in danger, immediately cheered and rushed up. In turning the first street the second Austrian before me was shot dead, and the officer that carried the Austrian colours had his colour-staff shot through. Several were then slightly wounded. At this eventful period Spence, from the gun on board, threw a shell into the house that galled us, and brought down house and enemies with it: those that ran out were bayonetted. We then proceeded. I went with the marines to the left, and another party to the right; one of our marine officers, through being too far ahead of his men, was the next that lost his life, and one seaman his arm. Our men then got enraged at the treacherous way they had of fighting and spared no man.

"We at last got possession of the centre of the town, and my poor self, and the Austrian officer, and the Archduke's son, Prince Frederick of Austria, planted the respective colours, and the marine officers the soldiers' colours, on the heights, and were cheered by the party in the town and the ships at anchor. I wished much for my gun, as I could have saved some of our people if I had had it. Some men were shot on the beach, but I was in the town at the time. I do not think we lost twelve men in all the 500 English; the Turks and Austrians lost more. In the evening we embarked, and are now off Beyrout, waiting orders. The Admiral is here, and a large

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party of marines, Austrians, and Turks, encamped on shore. We captured about 2000 prisoners at Sidon; our shell killed immense numbers; one shell killed the Egyptian General and all his staff round him. I believe we shall attack Acre soon, but we are going to have a stronger party, and to fight more cautiously next time."

"*H.M.S. Stromboli, off St. Jean d'Acre,*
"*Nov. 5th,* 1840.

"Last Saturday we started for Acre from Beyrout, with three other steamers in company, to attack Acre, and the fleet was to follow. On Sunday morning, after breakfast, the signal was made to reconnoitre the forts; and we, being the headmost vessel, were the first to stand in, and after the signal was made to engage, we commenced throwing live shell and shot into the town. We had been at it above an hour, when, all in an instant, the forts opened fire at us in particular, with shot and shell: some passed over us, others fell short; and, finding our engines in danger, we backed farther out, and when out of range of their guns, but in range with our own, continued our shelling and shot on the town till sunset: we then hauled off without any loss.

"On Monday, the fleet not heaving in sight, we stood in and shelled the town again, and in the latter part of the day landed under Mount Carmel in two of our boats. I had charge of them whilst our com-

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mander went to communicate with the mountaineers, but he was obliged to cut and run, as the Egyptian cavalry got scent of our movements: we all got on board safe. The same evening the fleet hove in sight, seven line-of-battle ships and three or four frigates and small vessels, and we all anchored for the night. In the morning of the 3d, the steamers, as it was calm, engaged the forts, doing immense destruction. I, myself, fired at least forty 32-pound shots into the largest battery that engaged us, and got great credit for not missing them. At twelve o'clock we stood off to dine; and at two o'clock, P.M., the whole fleet stood in for the forts, the Admiral leading one line, and the Powerful, Captain Napier, the other. One little frigate, however, called the Castor, ours, and the rest of the steamers, being ahead of the whole, and, of course, in the fire first. As soon as the fleet had anchored in their stations, our side began, and then, as you may suppose, little was to be seen: the roar of guns was tremendous. At five o'clock their main magazine blew up, destroying all the fortifications and buildings for a mile round. I never dreamt that such an eruption could take place. Mount Vesuvius, for the moment, was nothing in comparison, and the loss of life to the enemy was enormous. Their fire then slackened, at seven was silenced, and all was quiet. We had expended every shell and shot in the ship, and hauled out to clean the shipping, and get ready to land 500 Turks we had on board.

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"The next morning, that is the 4th, finding the troops had left the town, we landed the Turks and took possession. The sights in the town were dreadful. I should say that 2000 Egyptians lost their lives, and half that number by the explosion of the magazine, and numbers were buried alive. I saw in some places hands, arms, and toes sticking in all directions out of the ground, and horses, bullocks, guns, and every thing else the same. Our fleet have lost about thirty or forty men, and, thank God, although we were in the hottest part of the action, and longest in it, we have not lost a man. The effect of the broadsides of the line-of-battle ships was tremendous, knocking the batteries, walls, forts, guns, and every thing to the d—l; and in some places the town looks like a beehive. The mosque, as large as Radcliffe's library, is a rendezvous for the sick and wounded. This affair will astonish the French, as it proves no town in the world can resist British ships. The strength, height, and number of the fortifications at Acre are immense. I think we shall be in England soon, as the war here must finish now; for if Mehemet Ali holds out, Alexandria will share the fate of Acre. We want, and are waiting for, a fresh supply of shell, shot, and coals."

Having passed his examination at Portsmouth, Mr. Hunt received his commission of Lieutenant in the Navy from the Lords of the Admiralty at

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the earliest moment it could be conferred, thus marking their approbation of his conduct in a manner alike honourable to both parties. The announcement of his promotion is here transferred from the "Hampshire Telegraph:"—

"Amongst the gentlemen who passed their examination at the College on Monday last, for Navigation, was Mr. James Hunt, of the Stromboli. We publish the following letter, written upon the occasion of his brave behaviour at the capture of Sidon, which was mentioned at the time by Commodore Napier in his despatches, and led the Prince Frederick of Austria to apply to the Admiral for Mr. Hunt's promotion. We are happy to say that he has been promoted to the rank of Lieutenant.

"(COPY.)

"'*Her Majesty's Steam Vessel Stromboli,*
"'28*th Sept.* 1840.

"'Sir,—I consider it my duty to represent the conduct of Mr. Hunt (midshipman) on the occasion of the 26th of September, whilst storming the town of Sidon, as nothing could surpass the zeal, activity, cool determination, and courage which he displayed, and the unfailing success his conduct had over the men in cheering them on. He was intrusted with the colours, and ran a race with the Austrian officer who should be

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first to display their national flags on the walls of the castle—an honourable rivalry between allies. I beg leave to add that Mr. Hunt was successful.

" 'I have the honour to be, Sir,

" 'Your most obedient, humble Servant,

" 'JOHN RUSSELL, Lieutenant.

" '*To Commander Williams,*
" '*Her Majesty's Steam Vessel Stromboli.*' "

THE END.

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